HUMAN EVENTS

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NEWSPAPER

Congressmen Assail Bomber Cutback as Security Threat

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Congressional reaction to the Administration decision to scrap the nation's long-range bomber force has been unanimous: Not a single member of the Armed Services Committee in either house has yet endorsed the sweeping plans of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara.

Comments by Republicans and Democrats alike have been scathing. Sen. Howard Cannon (D.-Nev.), a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said the McNamara decision "represents a threat to our national security." Sen. "Mike" Monroney (D.-Okla.), a member of the Senate Defense Appropriations subcommittee, called the cutback "utter folly." Rep. Leslie Arends of Illinois, ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, said the scrapping of more than 400 bombers could leave the United States in dire peril.

McNamara has sought to soften congressional criticism by announcing that he will build 200 bomber models of the controversial TFX to replace the scrapped B-52. Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, terms this nothing more than a stopgap measure that does "not meet the long-range need for a follow-on strategic bomber system."

Air Force experts say the TFX is too short in range and too small to carry sufficient bombs and devices needed to find and destroy enemy targets.

[*Human Events* note: These Air Force experts point out that the FB-111—210 of which are to be built by 1971 at a cost of $1.75 billion—will be able to make a round-trip of about 4,100 miles, compared with the 9,000 miles a fully loaded B-52 can travel. This fact will render the FB-111 unusable from bases within the continental United States without mid-air refueling, an operation which obviously reduces bases-to-target flight time and complicates the mission. One further drawback: The smaller size of the FB-111 will preclude effective stowage of all the electronic countermeasures equipment seen mandatory for long-range penetration into enemy territory.]

Behind the McNamara decision to junk the nation's long-range bombers is the belief that intercontinental ballistic missiles have replaced the need for manned aircraft. The Joint Chiefs of Staff disagree, unanimously. They echo the words of retired Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis Lemay:

"There simply is not and never will be a single perfect weapons system . . . I am in complete agreement with the need for modern, effective ballistic missile systems. . . . The very presence of the manned aircraft in the over-all force, side by side with the ballistic missile, compounds many-fold the offensive and defensive problems of the enemy. . . . The question is not which system is better—missile or aircraft. They are complementary—not competitive."

Gen. Thomas Power, retired chief of the Strategic Air Command, readily grants the attributes of the missile. His is no "battleship admiral" mentality. But he points out that, unlike the manned bomber, a missile in flight can discover no unknown targets, and make no spot decisions necessitated by unforeseen circumstances. Adds Stefan Possony, a top military analyst now on the staff of the Hoover Institute at Stanford University:

"The present invulnerability of our ICBMs won't last. But in the offense-defense race the aircraft ultimately will come out on top because (a) it is manned and, therefore, genuinely maneuverable; (b) it can carry defensive armament; and (c) it would be used jointly with ground-to-ground and air-to-ground missiles which would be aimed at the enemy's missile and aircraft interceptor bases."

The missile is unable, by itself, to identify and pinpoint targets, attack moving targets, or destroy "hardened" targets. Hence, Possony argues, a missile force cannot function without aircraft and cannot be the main element of a strategy designed to knock out the enemy offensive force.

Rep. Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, makes this salient point:

"Missile weapons systems cannot be held on airborne alert. With only the capabilities of an all-missile deterrent system, an American President could only choose between pressing the button or sitting out an attack. But with manned aircraft in the deterrent system in proper proportion, he would have the additional alternative of foregoing irreversible action on ambiguous warnings and delay a fatal decision until the facts are established."

★ ★ ★

Republican leaders in New York City have ignored completely the announcement by David Susskind that he is "available" for the GOP nomination for the House seat soon to be vacated by John Lindsay. As a result, Susskind is considering a congressional race in Brooklyn—as a Democrat. The producer-moderator of television's "Open End" would move to Brooklyn and challenge Rep. Abe Multer in the Democratic primary, friends say. Political experts add that Susskind stands virtually no chance of victory.

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A Strategic Air Command B-52 pounds Viet Cong targets in South Viet Nam with 750-lb. bombs. Critics contend scrapping of so many of these massive bombers seriously endangers U.S. defense capabilities, especially if the highly touted FB-111 does not live up to expectations.

Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.) says the FB-111 is an inadequate "stopgap" measure.

Sen. Mike Monroney (D.-Okla.) calls the scrapping of the bombers "utter folly."

Would the Geneva Agreements Bring Peace to So. Viet Nam?

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LBJ's Backpedaling

NATO and Nuclear Weapons

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Another of Lyndon Johnson's campaign birds has come home to roost. When he wasn't denouncing as trigger-happy anyone who wanted to bomb Viet Nam, he was making a great public spectacle of saying that only the President of the United States has had and would have control of nuclear weapons.

The truth was and is far different from anything the Democrats had to say at that time. And now, as the results of the recent NATO conference make clear, the truth is coming out.

We have some 5,000 nuclear warheads on European soil. From the late 1950s to the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, some of these warheads were mounted on weapons which were assigned to and placed on allied warplanes.

Particularly under Lyndon Johnson, this nuclear sharing was cut back. New controls were placed on the warheads: combinations of mechanical and electronic locks or "permissive-action links."

Being aware of this, and worried by its implications for NATO unity, I suggested during the 1964 campaign that

West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard will discuss nuclear arms on his vist here.

our allies be given a meaningful share in the control of nuclear weapons on their soil. I did this because I knew NATO needed some new motive for unity. Mr. Johnson had let this great treaty virtually decay.

It was also done in the hope that the introduction of the issue during the campaign would force Mr. Johnson to modify his steadfastly isolationist position.

Instead, the issue was made to boomerang by a series of flatly misleading statements from the Department of Defense and the White House. Hearing this talk, anyone who even thought of sharing nuclear control was a warmonger of the worst sort.

But what do we find after the NATO conference? For one thing, the Administration has swung a bit to my position that new avenues to nuclear sharing must be found. And the Administration is now admitting that such nuclear sharing has previously existed, despite the loud and emphatic campaign denials of the very same point during the campaign.

It is well know that when West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard visits here the matter of nuclear sharing will be at the top of his agenda.

West Germany and every other nation of the NATO alliance is deeply affected by the array of Soviet medium-range missiles which point like bayonets toward their homelands. The idea that the nuclear defense of Europe must be absolutely tied to the White House is of grave concern. There has been no question for some years that this is one of the most urgent problems in keeping the NATO alliance alive.

In all that time, however, and playing politics with the freedom of almost half the world, this Administration has dodged the issue and distorted the facts.

This Administration's isolationist policies have hog-tied rather than made more flexible the nuclear defenses of Europe which, next only to the United States, is a major Communist target.

The facts must be faced. We can expect in the next weeks and months to find in this area and others the continued vindication of the 1964 Republican campaign and demonstration of this Administration's default in refusing to face facts until forced into a corner.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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New 'McCarthyism'

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota is one of the leading exponents of liberal thinking in the nation. As a liberal, he has come up with yet another reason why Americans are supposed to feel guilty for anything wrong that happens in the entire globe.

McCarthy said, "The United States did not make the tragedy of the Dominican Republic . . . but we contributed to it, at least by indifference, and simple justice now demands that we work for a solution."

The Minnesotan has engendered a new philosophical concept into international politics. It might properly be labeled "guilt by indifference."

Consider the meaning of McCarthy's words. Let us say that while we are minding our own business some nation, through its own internal inefficiencies and errors, finds itself in troubles.

According to McCarthy's reasoning we are then obligated to "work for a solution" to that nation's problem, because we contributed to creation of the problem, "at least by indifference."

It means we Americans have to flagellate ourselves with guilt feelings whenever anything goes wrong in any other nation.

This is the "New McCarthyism" and, if you are the type who likes to wear hair shirts, you are welcome to it.

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Outcome of AFL-CIO Convention

Vast COPE Expansion Planned for '66 Elections

By VICTOR RIESEL

This massive union convention of the nation's 980 most powerful labor leaders is not exactly being held in the shadow of the Cow Palace—but the arena's symbolism as the spot on which Barry Goldwater was nominated is not lost on the big AFL-CIO conclave.

Sharp examination of the long public and confidential reports and private conversations reveals that labor's political brain trust does not believe that either the Republican party or Barry Goldwater are politically dead.

There is, in fact, considerable concern among the strategists in the huge Civic Auditorium biennial Constitutional Convention over the "increasing chances"

Al Barkan, head of labor's Committee on Political Education.

of the Republicans—including Goldwaterites—taking control of the House of Representatives in the '66 election.

To smash such a GOP counter offensive, labor's balloting brigade, the Committee on Political Education (COPE), has been conferring here on the building of a far-flung campaign machine which will reach into every "core" city in the land.

It will invoke the modernity of the space age by building an intricate electronic data processing system in the huge population complexes of the industrial cities. And it will reach back into the high-button gaslight era with a breadbasket technique in the shanty towns of the South's Negro communities.

For the '66 election it will shift to the cities and the immediate suburban areas because it believes that "probably the most significant political development in the past two years and the one with the most far-reaching significance for the future is the reapportionment of state legislatures . . . In political terms, it strengthens the representation of trade union members resident in the core cities. . . It also makes for perhaps the largest challenge to the political organization talents of the labor movement in the increased suburban strength."

In many states this will mean the development of COPE city election machinery where none now exists. For the "monumental task of locating, registering and informing membership resident in the suburbs," COPE plans to use a computer technology. Its chiefs here are searching out the national union leaders and requesting "print-outs" of electronic tapes listing the entire national membership.

If not on special tape, COPE wants a duplicate set of punched cards giving the union's membership by states. Positive security is promised. The lists will be guarded as they are used by "each of the 50 state COPE organizations."

Such electronic data processing campaigning, however, will not be of much help in the five Southern states which swung to Barry Goldwater in '64. Labor's strategists say their problem there is acute. They admit that much COPE literature was "violently rejected" by union members at plant gates and that many "union officials lent their names to labor committees for Goldwater."

To offset this sentiment in some Southern sectors, COPE's energetic director, Al Barkan and his colleague Roy Reuther are pushing for heavy Negro registration. Of the 6,000,000 registered Negro voters throughout the land, 700,000 signed up last year. The push now is on to quadruple that.

As for the Southwest, there COPE will push for extension of the "coalition of labor, Negroes, Latin-Americans and liberals" which it says has been so successful in Texas.

This intricate electronic and foot-slogging machine is being prepared not only to preserve the liberal-labor control of Congress, but also to drive from both Houses those who balk the AFL-CIO's entire legislative program.

A joint laborite chiefs of staff unit now is functioning quietly and privately to put this legislation over. It is made up of some of the brightest and "anonymous" AFL-CIO staff men: such as Lane Kirkland, the virtually unknown top aide to George Meany; Jack Conway, now head of the Industrial Union Dept., who once was Walter Reuther's Ted Sorensen; Andy Biemiller, the movement's Larry O'Brien; publicist Al Zack and COPE chief Al Barkan.

This vast drive, this new "core cities" project, the move into the South, the campaign for influence in the suburban areas, the remaking and electronicizing of labor's political machine will take millions in money and manpower.

Judging from what is developing at this huge labor convention, the money and manpower will be in the hustings early next year.

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COMMUNISM LEVELS—Former Supreme Court Justice Charles Whittaker has delivered a sharp critique of modern liberals. "Our government was never intended to be a leveler of men," he said. "It permits, and was intended to permit, the gifted, the energetic, the creative and the thrifty, economically at least, to rise above the masses and it intends to leave each man free to earn and find his own level on the stairway to the top . . . . If men really want permanent economic equality they may find it only in communism."

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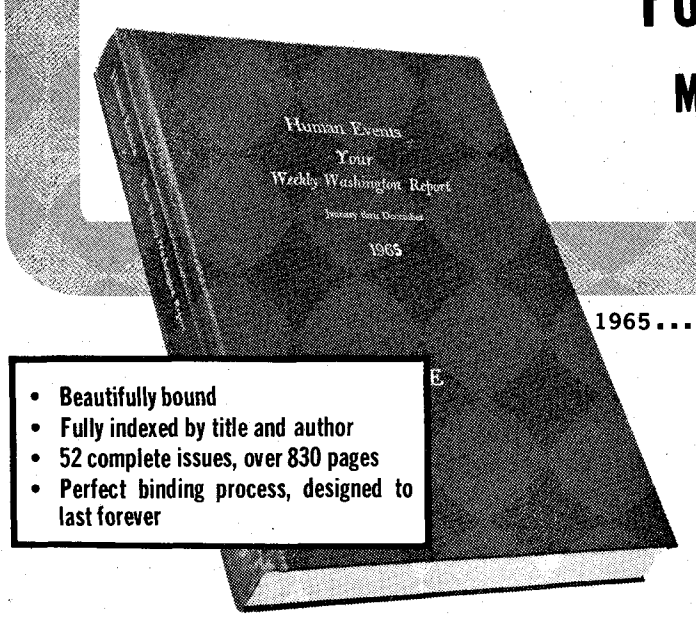

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Yes, 1965 was the year of the Great Leap Leftward, thanks mainly to the amazing agility of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the craftiest manipulator of political power ever to occupy the White House.

In short, 1965 is a year you'll want to remember, albeit with pain. And the best way to keep the record straight is with a bound volume of HUMAN EVENTS. You should have it for your permanent library as a source of facts when evangelizing the conservative position to friend or foe. Someday your children will want to know, and there will be no better way to tell them, than by thumbing through a bound volume of HUMAN EVENTS (of course, a donation of a bound volume of HUMAN EVENTS would also make a splendid addition to the otherwise liberal-filled shelves of your local school or public library). In any event, **order it now**, and save $7.50!

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Republican members of the House Banking and Currency Committee have denounced chairman Wright Patman's (D.-Tex.) harassment of the Federal Reserve Board. Patman, a veteran "funny-money" advocate, called all seven members of the FRB before his committee to browbeat them for raising the federal discount rate. Republicans, led by Rep. Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.), demanded that Administration officials also be called for testimony on the interest rate hike, but the committee rejected this plea in a straight party-line vote. Observers, meanwhile, view as unlikely the possibility that Congress will enact any legislation violating the Reserve Board's integrity and independence.

PATMAN

• *U.S. foreign aid to Yugoslavia has supposedly ended. Yet last week the State Department announced that it would aid the Communist state with credits and debt postponements totaling $57 million. Department spokesmen explain that President Tito is "liberalizing" his rule and demonstrating "independence" of the Kremlin.* *(For a report on what two congressmen found in Hungary and Rumania, see page 15.)*

• Young Americans for Freedom will sponsor a patriotic rally in support of American policy in Viet Nam in Washington's famed Constitution Hall on January 8. Major speakers at the rally will include Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.), Rep. Armistead Selden (D.-Ala.) and Adm. Arleigh Burke (Ret.). YAF will sponsor other rallies January 8 and 9 in Boston, Houston, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City.

BURKE

• *Even the liberal New York* Times *is uneasy about many of LBJ's economic decisions. The* Times *editorialized: "Administration spokesmen have contributed to the heady atmosphere conductive to wage-price increases by their over-enthusiastic predictions about the business outlook. They have added to the inflationary pressure by being overly generous with cuts in both income and excise taxes and by promoting a huge expansion in the money supply."*

• Rep. Charles Weltner (D.-Ga.) has informed the Democratic National Committee that he will not use "Toward an Age of Greatness," the $15,000-a-page corporate-ad-filled publication, in his upcoming campaign. Weltner's action, according to a National Committee source, illustrates his doubts about the legality of collecting corporate money through ads in the book. (See *Human Events*, last week, page 6).

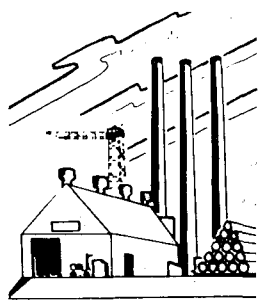
WELTNER

• *More information that U.S. military men in Viet Nam are often without ammunition. Navy Airman Richard Frazier recently wrote his cousin in Kankakee, Ill., that "Any day of the week I can stand in front of the air terminal in Saigon and watch a flying boxcar pull up and take on a couple of hundred guys on stretchers. I carry a .38 pistol all the time, but I am not allowed to load it and if I am in danger I have to get permission to fire. As long as they are going to make me walk around with an unloaded gun, I'd just as soon be home with my wife."*

This Week in Washington

AFL-CIO Convention

The AFL-CIO, with the full backing of the Johnson Administration, has launched the most massive campaign ever waged by Big Labor against a single piece of legislation. The legislation: Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, commonly known as the right-to-work provision.



Plans to repeal 14b were mapped last week at the AFL-CIO biennial convention in San Francisco.

In a telephone address to the opening session of the convention, President Johnson pledged again to press for the destruction of right-to-work and Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz told the convention that he was for repeal because of its "essential rightness" and said the Administration would not give up in its efforts to scrap 14b.

The giant labor federation has divided the country into 13 areas for its repeal campaign. (Repeal legislation passed the House last session but was frustrated by a Senate filibuster led by Minority Leader Everett Dirksen.)

Each of the 13 areas will have a central headquarters staffed with local and national representatives to mobilize union members and community support. Big labor strategists said privately there was "no limit" on the funds they would spend to effect repeal.

Right-to-work will be one of the first issues taken up after Congress convenes January 10. Capitol Hill observers feel a large outpouring of grass-roots sentiment from *Human Events* readers and other conservatives is necessary right now if the Senate is again to prevent repeal.

Labor lobbyists would not be satisfied even if they did dump 14b however. In a series of resolutions adopted with virtually no dissent, the AFL-CIO advocated: a $10-billion annual increase in federal aid to education with $1.5 billion earmarked for tuition-free colleges; a $2-an-hour minimum wage; a 50 per cent increase in Social Security benefits and a doubling of payroll taxes; an extension of the minimum wage to 4.2 million additional workers; liberalized unemployment compensation; a "common situs" bill that would, in effect, legalize secondary boycotts.

• LBJ and HHH proved they were in Big Labor's pocket during the convention. In spite of higher and higher wages, the President complimented the AFL-CIO on its "restraint" in collective bargaining. "In the last two years," said the chief executive, "the labor cost per unit of output has remained relatively stable, and by acting responsibly, you have secured wage gains that mean real gains in purchasing power." LBJ conveniently overlooked wage hikes far in excess of Administration guidelines that were forced by the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers and other major unions.

• Vice President Humphrey demonstrated a noticeable lack of political courage. The Veep praised the unions for holding wage increases at approximately the 3.2 per cent level recommended in Administration guidelines, but he deleted from a prepared text remarks calling the guidelines an anti-inflationary tool. Commented Harry Bernstein, labor writer for the Los Angeles *Times:* "His failure to deliver the remarks to the convention apparently indicated an awareness that they would not likely draw any applause from the delegates."

Trouble Ahead for LBJ?

The GOP scored a major political upset Tuesday, December 14, in the heart of Virginia's Democratic Byrdland. Conservative Republican J. Kenneth Robinson won a landslide victory over Joseph A. Massie Jr. in a special election to fill a vacancy in the State Senate created last month when Harry F. Byrd Jr. was elevated to the U.S. Senate to succeed his father.

Political experts in the Old Dominion had expected the election to be a nip-and-tuck affair, but Robinson shellacked his Democratic opponent better than 2 to 1. He carried all five of the district's political subdivisions—Clarke, Frederick, Loudoun and Shenandoah Counties and the City of Winchester—by wide margins, rolling up a total of 10,293 votes to Massie's 4,949.

Three years ago Democrat John O. Marsh received 51.5 per cent of the vote in this district in defeating Robinson in a race for Congress, and last year LBJ won the district with 52.5 per cent of the ballots. But the story was very different last week.

Many Virginians believe the landslide proportions of Robinson's upset suggest a sudden, dramatic shift in the state's political sentiment following the retirement of Harry Byrd Sr., the man who had kept many conservatives loyal to the Democratic party.

With Byrd no longer in office, those conservatives in Virginia who were reluctant to do so now feel free to bolt to the GOP, and the steady leftward march of the state Democratic party may accelerate this exodus. Last year, the Virginia party chieftains announced for Lyndon Johnson and, except for Sen. Byrd, worked very hard for LBJ's election; in the gubernatorial contest this past November the Democratic candidate identified himself with the "Great Society."

With Republican Robinson garnering almost 70 per cent of the vote, although he was running against a veteran politician and officeholder, Virginia's conservative Republicans have received a strong shot in the arm. If the conservative Democratic defections continue, Lyndon Johnson and Co. could be in big trouble in the congressional races next year.

• Virginia and Vermont (see *Human Events*, December 11 page 5) are not the only state where warning signs are up for LBJ; California has joined the list. In a special election held last week in the 26th Congressional District to fill the seat vacated when Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt moved to the United Nations, the Republican candidate, Edward Marshall, received over 40 per cent of the vote. While not a victory, Marshall's showing is encouraging to the GOP for three reasons: Registration in the district is 70-to-30 Democratic; young Marshall (he's only 27) had as his opponent Thomas Rees, a 40-year-old state senator whose political reputation has been built up for many years; and, most important, the Republican percentage of the vote (40.6) was significantly higher than in 1964, when the GOP pulled only 29.6 per cent or 1962, when the party garnered only 31.7 per cent of the vote in the district. "Great Society" congressmen in marginal districts can find little comfort in these figures.

More Powell Antics

A justice of the New York State Supreme Court last week accused Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) of a "monstrous defiance of the law" and imposed a new $575,000 libel judgment on the Harlem congressman.

Justice Maurice Wahl made the new award because he said Powell has dodged payment of a $33,000 judgment awarded to Esther James, a Harlem widow. The congressman-minister had slandered Mrs. James on a 1960 television program by calling her a graft collector.

Otherwise, it was not an unusual week for the dapper chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor; Powell spent most of the time in Puerto Rico, soaking up the sun with his wife, a $19,000-a-year committee staffer.

Powell did show up for a Washington press conference at which he announced it is more important to win the poverty war than the war in Viet Nam. "I do not want to win the war in Viet Nam if it means losing the 'War on Poverty,'" he said.

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The congressman urged a tripling of anti-poverty funds and called the Harlem anti-poverty project, HARYOU-ACT, "the best program in the nation," conveniently glossing over a finding by New York District Attorney Frank Hogan that $400,000 in government funds has mysteriously disappeared from the project.

At the same conference Powell attacked the Washington, D.C., anti-poverty agency, the United Planning Organization, asserting that Negroes were discriminated against in the UPO program. The fact of the matter, however, is that 52 per cent of the staff in the $14,000-and-above bracket is Negro.

Powell summoned the executive director of UPO to his office to discuss the agency's hiring practices and the director, James Banks, a Negro, arrived on time for the meeting. Powell never showed up.

Shriver-Enforced Poverty

The courageous mayor of Shelbyville, Ind., is battling federal bureaucrats who have labeled the city a distressed area and seek to foist upon it anti-poverty dollars it does not want.

Mayor Ralph VanNatta says that Shelbyville is a thriving center without unemployment of any kind. In all of Shelby County, he adds, there are only 15 men out of work.

Nevertheless, a federal anti-poverty official, Morris Moriarity, is trying to set up a federally subsidized corporation, with a $15,000-a-year administrator, to operate poverty programs in Shelbyville, and in Shelby, Rush and Decatur Counties.

VanNatta has met with Moriarity in an effort to find out what the federal government has in mind. VanNatta says "we were able to learn next to nothing about the program. He [Moriarity] was extremely evasive, especially on the question of federal controls."

Moriarity did warn, however, that the federal government can, if it so chooses, bypass the local government by having any small group of people incorporate to administer the program.

"This would be a case where local government is no longer run by local officials named by the people," VanNatta says. "The federal government seems to be saying, 'We're going to do this in your community, whether the people living there want it or not.' I think local people can better decide what their needs are."

Shelbyville already has a voluntary self-help agency, Shelby County United Fund for You (SCUFFY) that last year raised more than $100,000 for agencies dealing with such areas as mental health, various physical afflictions and recreational activities for youth.

As a result, even Shelby County Democratic Chairman George Tolen, a backer of the federal anti-poverty program, conceded that "no dire poverty seems to exist in the three-county area."

Mayor VanNatta says that if Shelbyville were indeed impoverished, a case might be made for federal aid. "But I have not seen one area mentioned by the federal government where our own community is not meeting the need, and doing it well and proudly," he told the Indianapolis *News*.

"They [the federal bureaucrats] are trying to ram this down our throats."

• A survey by the Indianapolis *News* indicated that Mayor VanNatta is by no means alone in opposing federal "anti-poverty" aid. Of the seven suburban counties surrounding Indianapolis, five say they want no part of Washington's "War on Poverty." A sixth county says it hasn't seriously considered the program and only one has shown any interest in the program. The comment of Ione Pettijohn, Hamilton County welfare director, was typical of those surveyed by the *News*. The county, she said, doesn't need the federal program because it is perfectly equipped to "take care of its own."

Integration vs. Education

Residents of the predominantly Negro South Jamaica section of New York City are in open rebellion against efforts of the Board of Education to force "quality integrated education" on them. What they demand, the parents told the City Planning Commission at a public hearing last week, is "quality education" for their children. The "integration" part they deem of secondary importance.

The angry Negro parents were joined by many white parents who protested to the Planning Commission over the school board's substitution of an "intermediate" school (grades 5-8) for an elementary school they had been promised. The intermediate school was substituted in the interest of the school board's integration policy.

According to the New York *World-Telegram*, Randolph Rankin, lead speaker for the Negro parents, testified: "We must get another primary school at once. We don't care if it is segregated. We must get an elementary school."

Rankin said that his stand will be "the official stand of the Jamaica NAACP," asserting that local school officials, teachers and parents all agreed on the necessity for an elementary rather that an "integrated" intermediate school. Rankin added:

"If the South Jamaica areas are segregated, they are segregated voluntarily. We are a private home section and for the Board of Education to bring up the segregation issue again is ridiculous. Segregation or integration means nothing to us if we have to take this [intermediate] school. We will take a segregated school in this community because that's where we live."

Harry C. Devine, another Negro, told the commission that "We have believed in quality integrated education but the problem now facing us transcends that. We have come to the unanimous conclusion that we must forego integration to assure quality education for our children."

The Rev. Eldridge Gittens of the Rush Temple Zion Church suggested to the commission members that "we who live in the area see the picture much more clearly than you do."

Peace Corps Notes

Peace Corps officials are continuing their amazing campaign to recruit veterans of the "free speech" riots at the University of California and the far-left Students for a Democratic Society.

Frank Mankiewicz, a top corps official, recently brought SDS leaders Carl Oglesby and Paul Booth to Washington to ask their advice on recruiting the activists of the New Left.

Mankiewicz was impressed by the SDSniks. "The same thing that moves moral youth into political activity would be useful to the corps," he said. He indicated that Peace Corps volunteers may work on SDS "community action" projects as part of their training.

• Robert Satin, who directed Dominican Republic operations for the corps, has gone out to the University of California at Berkeley to sign up "activists." "I not only want to get to the 5,000 who go out in protest," says Satin, "I particularly want to get to those who organize them."

• Rep. Brad Morse (R.-Mass.) points out that the Peace Corps is actually helping out the Soviets. In a recent letter to Sargent Shriver, Morse called for "the immediate termination" of activities by Peace Corps volunteers "directly or indirectly promoting the Soviet Union." Morse, a liberal himself, expressed his "astonishment" at a report in the September 1965 edition of the "Peace Corps Volunteer" of the actions of a volunteer in Afghanistan, who, as a part of his *official* Peace Corps duty, designed a billboard for the Soviet agency, Intourist, promoting travel to Russia.

• A recent edition of the *Peace Corps News* has come under attack by concerned citizens. The publication, distributed by the Peace Corps to college campuses, says: "There's no business like revolution to stir your blood. Once you can sneak through the glorified college boards they use for selection (. . . tell them you're from Berkeley and you're in) and endure the glorified Boy Scout training program (be stoic), you're on your own, free to foment ferment and to organize community spirit . . . and topple imperialists."

• Another piece of Peace Corps literature coming under fire: *The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*. In this slim pamphlet, two pages and a picture are devoted to George Johnson, the Peace Corps volunteer who manned a table in the State Department cafeteria last March and distributed material calling for the Administration to put an "end to hostility" toward the Communists in Viet Nam (see *Human Events*, page 5, March 20). Johnson's criticism of our Viet Nam policy is also highlighted.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), chairman of the House GOP Conference, last week urged members of his party to fight the Democrats and not themselves. "Lately," he said, "we seem to spend 80 per cent of our time dissecting our own party and at most 20 per cent criticizing our opponents." He said the primary role of the opposition is to shed light on the shortcomings of the administration in power—"a duty we have neglected lately."

LAIRD

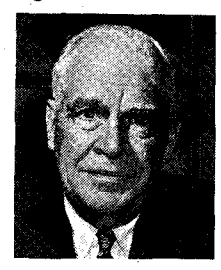
• *The left-wing National Student Association continues to lose support in U.S. colleges. At the University of Colorado, long a center of academic ultra-liberalism, students voted to disaffiliate from the NSA by a vote of 1,849 to 1,711. The vote was surprising in that only the local Young Americans for Freedom chapter supported the NSA ouster; virtually all other campus organizations, including the Young Republicans, backed NSA. Also at Colorado, a vote was taken on Viet Nam: supporters of current U.S. policy totaled 3,268 as against 472 non-supporters. Other recent disaffiliations from NSA include Iowa, Michigan State and Washington Universities.*

• Roger Fleming, secretary-treasurer of the American Farm Bureau Federation, said last week that Congress will not remain an independent branch of government unless it learns "to say no, even against ever-increasing pressures from the executive." Said Fleming, "It is crystal clear that Congress will not survive as a viable instrument of constitutional government unless the members of Congress . . . have the will to survive." Fleming suggested farmers should vote for congressmen on the basis of their independence from the demands of the executive branch and noted the 1966 elections would be crucial in this regard.

FLEMING

• *A New York psychiatrist last week scoffed at liberal explanations for the Watts riots. In a paper prepared for the American Mental Health Foundation, Dr. Stefan de Schill said: "While we must do everything in our power to work toward the elimination of poverty, discrimination, lack of education and unemployment among Negroes, these factors alone do not explain the occurrence of riots." He said that the principal elements behind racial violence in the United States are "hate and incitement to violence fomented by organized groups, a self-righteous feeling that success can be obtained without working for it and at the expense of other human beings, the expectation that lawless acts may be committed with impunity."*

• Former Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, who is all for expanding trade with the Communists, has blamed 1964 GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater for having fostered the Ku Klux Klan. "The poison planted during those weeks and months [he was running] has caused eruption of sores and boils as evidenced by the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and other similar organizations." Hodges, however, did not explain why, when he was governor of North Carolina, the Klan happened to flourish, but that it has never flourished in Goldwater's state of Arizona.


HODGES

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How ACA Rates the Members of Congress

Below are the voting ratings just issued by the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. The first column gives the cumulative scores (1955-65 for the Senate and 1957-65 for the House) and the second column the figures for 1965, the first session of the 89th Congress. According to ACA, the higher a member's rating, the greater his devotion to constitutional conservatism.

Ratings for senators are based on 29 roll call votes, while 28 were used for representatives; pairs and announcements of how absentees would have voted had they been present are not included. These ratings are based on issues ranging from Medicare and right-to-work to rent subsidies and foreign aid. Members are listed alphabetically by party with Democrats in lightface type and Republicans in **boldface**.

The annual ACA ratings are but one phase of this non-partisan political action group's efforts in behalf of the maintenance and strengthening of our constitutional form of government. During 1966 it will publicly indorse deserving conservative candidates for election or re-election to either house of Congress.

To the extent its funds permit, ACA will provide political action manuals, research, speech material, personalized news releases, advertising, help in administration and counseling of new candidates. Much of this professional assistance will be given by individuals and firms based in the states or districts of the candidates; ACA field men will aid in organizing primary and fall election campaigns, writing speeches, raising funds, and getting out the votes on election days.

Senate

	Cumulative Rating 1955-1965	1965 Rating
ALABAMA		
Hill	24	48
Sparkman	18	33
ALASKA		
Bartlett	11	28
Gruening	18	38
ARIZONA		
Hayden	11	9
Fannin	79	79
ARKANSAS		
Fulbright	22	16
McClellan	69	72
CALIFORNIA		
Kuchel	38	27
Murphy	78	78
COLORADO		
Allott	72	74
Dominick	78	81
CONNECTICUT		
Dodd	18	15
Ribicoff	5	12
DELAWARE		
Boggs	44	38
Williams	91	89
FLORIDA		
Holland	64	76
Smathers	33	17
GEORGIA		
Russell	70	73
Talmadge	55	64
HAWAII		
Inouye	1	4
Fong	38	48
IDAHO		
Church	8	22
Jordan	84	88
ILLINOIS		
Douglas	12	7
Dirksen	71	48
INDIANA		
Bayh	5	8
Hartke	8	22
IOWA		
Hickenl'per	79	83
Miller	74	74
KANSAS		
Carlson	57	65
Pearson	64	65
KENTUCKY		
Cooper	29	38
Morton	60	58
LOUISIANA		
Ellender	54	62
Long	29	15
MAINE		
Muskie	7	9
Smith	40	28
MARYLAND		
Brewster	6	8
Tydings	7	7
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	0	0
Saltonstall	58	45
MICHIGAN		
Hart	1	0
McNamara	1	0
MINNESOTA		
McCarthy	2	8
Mondale	0	0
MISSISSIPPI		
Eastland	71	85
Stennis	67	72
MISSOURI		
Long	4	13
Symington	10	33
MONTANA		
Mansfield	8	13
Metcalf	5	16
NEBRASKA		
Curtis	93	95
Hruska	93	96
NEVADA		
Bible	31	48
Cannon	22	42
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
McIntyre	19	29
Cotton	83	71
NEW JERSEY		
Williams	4	4
Case	27	11
NEW MEXICO		
Anderson	22	28
Montoya	15	15
NEW YORK		
Kennedy	0	0
Javits	20	11
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ervin	55	74
Jordan	54	58
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	9	21
Young	56	80
OHIO		
Lausche	76	58
Young	12	15
OKLAHOMA		
Harris	25	25
Monroney	13	17
OREGON		
Morse	12	29
Neuberger	2	5
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark	5	9
Scott	41	32
RHODE ISLAND		
Pastore	10	4
Pell	5	4
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Russell	67	67
Thurmond	96	96
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	3	4
Mundt	76	83
TENNESSEE		
Bass	4	4
Gore	16	19
TEXAS		
Yarborough	8	16
Tower	99	96
UTAH		
Moss	10	18
Bennett	85	74
VERMONT		
Aiken	38	31
Prouty	51	41
VIRGINIA		
Byrd	93	95
Robertson	88	96
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	7	15
Magnuson	9	13
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	22	32
Randolph	6	14
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	4	12
Proxmire	24	14
WYOMING		
McGee	3	0
Simpson	97	96

House of Representatives

	Cumulative Rating 1957-1965	1965 Rating
ALABAMA		
Andrews, G.	60	88
Jones	13	26
Selden	54	75
Andrews, Gl.	88	88
Buchanan	100	100
Dickinson	96	96
Edwards	100	100
Martin	100	100
ALASKA		
Rivers	1	4
ARIZONA		
Senner	16	17
Udall	9	12
Rhodes	84	85
ARKANSAS		
Gathings	60	78
Harris	31	38
Mills	27	35
Trimble	8	7
CALIFORNIA		
Brown	0	0
Burton	0	0
Cameron	9	12
Cohelan	4	4
Corman	0	0
Dyal	0	0
Edwards	0	0
Hagen	11	12
Hanna	2	5
Hawkins	0	0
Holifield	7	5
Johnson	8	19
King	1	4
Leggett	3	4
McFall	2	0
Miller	2	0
Moss	2	0
Roybal	3	0
Sisk	3	4
Tunney	10	10
Van Deerlin	3	4
Wilson, C.	2	4
Baldwin	53	67
Bell	76	71
Clausen	88	81
Clawson	96	95
Gubser	79	88
Hosmer	78	80
Lipscomb	96	96
Mailliard	57	54
Reinecke	81	81
Smith	99	100
Talcott	83	77
Teague	84	85
Utt	98	100
Wilson, R.	85	91
Younger	86	89
COLORADO		
Aspinall	8	13
Evans	8	8
McVicker	17	17
Rogers	8	4
CONNECTICUT		
Daddario	9	4
Giaimo	8	12
Grabowski	5	11
Irwin	11	7
Monagan	16	11
St. Onge	2	4
DELAWARE		
McDowell	5	7
FLORIDA		
Bennett	46	68
Fascell	17	7
Fuqua	56	65
Gibbons	24	20
Haley	90	93
Herlong	69	76
Matthews	43	61
Pepper	2	4
Rogers	60	61
Sikes	45	52
Cramer	88	86
Gurney	97	93
GEORGIA		
Davis	33	54
Flynt	54	60
Hagan	47	67
Landrum	35	30
Mackay	12	12
O'Neal	87	87
Stephens	33	29
Tuten	40	46
Weltner	27	24
Callaway	96	96
HAWAII		
Matsunaga	0	0
Mink	0	0
IDAHO		
White	13	25
Hansen	100	100
ILLINOIS		
Annunzio	4	4
Dawson	1	4
Gray	8	4
Kluczynski	3	0
Murphy	2	4
O'Hara	3	4
Price	1	4
Pucinski	4	12
Ronan	4	4
Rostenk'ski	1	4
Schisler	12	12
Shipley	16	30
Yates	7	4
Anderson	91	91
Arends	86	84
Collier	92	92
Derwinski	93	92
Erlenborn	96	96
Findley	95	88
McClory	88	77
Michel	90	84
Reid	98	96
Rumsfeld	83	69
Springer	78	71
INDIANA		
Brademas	3	0
Denton	9	4
Hamilton	15	15
Jacobs	7	7
Madden	3	0
Roush	17	25
Adair	89	91
Bray	80	92
Halleck	87	91
Harvey	92	94
Roudebush	91	86
IOWA		
Bandstra	11	11
Culver	8	8
Greigg	4	4
Hansen	4	4
Schmidh'ser	14	14
Smith	12	12
Gross	96	100
KANSAS		
Dole	93	89
Ellsworth	66	54
Mize	72	72
Shriver	83	74
Skubitz	92	88
KENTUCKY		
Chelf	21	19
Farnsley	0	0
Natcher	22	25
Perkins	9	4
Stubblef'ld	19	30
Watts	22	19
Carter	50	50
LOUISIANA		
Boggs	8	4
Hebert	52	93
Long	95	95
Morrison	10	4
Passman	68	93
Waggonner	94	92
Willis	27	24
MAINE		
Hathaway	4	4
Tupper	32	14
MARYLAND		
Fallon	19	12
Friedel	5	4
Garmatz	8	9
Long	5	7
Machen	11	11
Sickles	0	0
Mathias	43	36
Morton	76	75
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boland	10	0
Burke	4	4
Donohue	8	4
Macdonald	13	22
McCormack	0	
O'Neill	5	4
Philbin	10	4
Bates	70	72
Conte	49	44
Keith	65	54
Martin	57	50
Morse	44	52
MICHIGAN		
Clevenger	4	4
Conyers	0	0
Diggs	2	0
Dingell	4	4
Farnum	4	4
Ford, W.	0	0
Griffiths	6	4
Mackie	11	11
Nedzi	2	4
O'Hara	2	0
Todd	12	12
Vivian	4	4
Broomfield	65	65
Cederberg	90	92
Chamberlain	79	85
Ford, G.	82	81
Griffin	78	73
Harvey	78	67
Hutchinson	94	93
MINNESOTA		
Blatnik	5	4
Fraser	0	0
Karth	2	7
Olson	8	7
Langen	87	89
MacGregor	77	78
Nelsen	86	89
Quie	79	78
MISSISSIPPI		
Abernethy	75	100
Colmer	78	100
Whitten	71	85
Williams	85	100
Walker	100	100
MISSOURI		
Bolling	1	0
Hull	53	58
Hungate	16	16
Ichord	37	44
Jones	60	80
Karsten	1	4
Randall	14	33
Sullivan	3	0
Curtis	88	91
Hall	99	100
MONTANA		
Olsen	5	14
Battin	88	85
NEBRASKA		
Callan	14	14
Cunningham	86	81
Martin	91	85
NEVADA		
Baring	52	95
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Huot	4	4
Cleveland	73	64
NEW JERSEY		
Daniels	3	4
Gallagher	3	4
Helstoski	0	0
Howard	4	4
Joelson	5	0
Krebs	4	4
McGrath	4	4
Minish	2	4
Patten	2	4
Rodino	6	4
Thompson	4	0
Cahill	46	32
Dwyer	50	43
Freling'sen	61	50
Widnall	62	60
NEW MEXICO		
Morris	18	19
Walker	30	30
NEW YORK		
Addabbo	9	8
Bingham	4	4
Carey	6	8
Celler	4	0
Delaney	8	4
Dow	0	0
Dulski	14	8
Farbstein	5	4
Gilbert	1	4
Hanley	7	7
Kelly	7	4
Keogh	3	0
McCarthy	15	15
Multer	3	4
Murphy	2	4
O'Brien	14	0
Ottinger	7	7
Pike	27	32
Powell	10	0
Resnick	0	0
Rooney	5	4
Rosenthal	1	4
Ryan	2	4
Scheuer	4	4
Stratton	14	12
Tenzer	4	4
Wolff	14	14
Conable	59	59
Fino	37	26
Goodell	84	83
Grover	65	68
Halpern	28	17
Horton	42	27
King	87	88
Lindsay	35	7
McEwen	88	88
Pirnie	75	54
Reid	29	11
Robison	82	74
Smith	67	67
Wydler	71	69
NORTH CAROLINA		
Cooley	34	50
Fountain	57	79
Henderson	49	59
Kornegay	50	63
Lennon	71	88
Scott	60	58
Taylor	55	61
Whitener	64	71
Broyhill	92	89
Jonas	90	96
NORTH DAKOTA		
Redlin	4	4
Andrews	74	69
OHIO		
Ashley	7	0
Feighan	19	4
Gilligan	4	4
Hays	11	5
Kirwan	9	4
Love	7	7
Moeller	28	19
Secrest	35	36
Sweeney	4	4
Vanik	12	4
Ashbrook	98	92
Ayres	70	58
Betts	96	93
Bolton	86	95
Bow	93	90
Clancy	95	92
Devine	97	96
Harsha	82	81
Latta	89	89
McCulloch	89	85
Minshall	91	81
Mosher	70	64
Stanton	75	75
OKLAHOMA		
Albert	4	4
Edmondson	5	4
Jarman	53	73
Johnson	4	4
Steed	23	28
Belcher	90	96
OREGON		
Duncan	9	8
Green	10	17
Ullman	3	12
Wyatt	68	68
PENNSYLVANIA		
Barrett	3	0
Byrne	5	4
Clark	15	4
Craley	0	0
Dent	13	4
Flood	5	4
Green	2	4
Holland	2	0
Moorhead	4	4
Morgan	5	4
Nix	4	0
Rhodes	7	4
Rooney	2	4
Toll	3	0
Vigorito	7	7
Corbett	43	42
Curtin	63	67
Dague	88	81
Fulton	42	46
Johnson	84	81
Kunkel	70	67
McDade	40	30
Saylor	60	60
Schneebeli	74	67
Schweiker	62	44
Watkins	74	74
Whalley	66	71
RHODE ISLAND		
Fogarty	14	4
St. Germain	5	4
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Ashmore	75	81
Dorn	77	77
Gettys	57	57
McMillan	63	73
Rivers	48	52
Watson	84	94
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Berry	90	80
Reifel	76	73
TENNESSEE		
Anderson	8	8
Everett	25	31
Evins	22	17
Fulton	2	4
Grider	0	0
Murray	57	43
Brock	89	91
Duncan	96	96
Quillen	95	92
TEXAS		
Beckworth	25	21
Brooks	10	11
Burleson	73	75
Cabell	52	52
Casey	72	68
de la Garza	32	32
Dowdy	79	89
Fisher	78	85
Gonzalez	3	4
Mahon	46	46
Patman	14	8
Pickle	24	18
Poage	40	46
Pool	80	86
Purcell	24	25
Roberts	49	52
Rogers	54	72
Teague	53	59
Thomas	13	0
Thompson	15	5
White	44	44
Wright	21	8
Young	20	16
UTAH		
King	13	11
Burton	79	71
VERMONT		
Stafford	58	54
VIRGINIA		
Abbitt	87	96
Downing	62	70
Hardy	47	64
Jennings	26	22
Marsh	91	86
Satterf'ld	86	86
Smith	83	82
Tuck	90	93
Broyhill	85	81
Poff	96	96
WASHINGTON		
Adams	14	14
Foley	15	15
Hansen	2	7
Hicks	7	7
Meeds	7	7
May	77	83
Pelly	77	68
WEST VIRGINIA		
Hechler	9	4
Kee	0	0
Slack	11	15
Staggers	14	8
Moore	66	70
WISCONSIN		
Kastenmeier	6	0
Race	7	7
Reuss	1	0
Stalbaum	11	11
Zablocki	6	4
Byrnes	87	88
Davis	88	88
Laird	91	92
O'Konski	45	54
Thomson	87	85
WYOMING		
Roncalio	21	21

Although Speaker McCormack has a vote, he did not use it in 1965. His cumulative rating is based on votes cast before he became speaker. Rep. Toll, who was ill throughout the session, did not vote in 1965. Rep. Watson, a Democrat, resigned early in 1965 and was re-elected as a Republican. Reps. Edwards of Louisiana and Clarence J. Brown, Jr., of Ohio, who were elected to fill vacancies, were not rated. California and North Carolina each have one vacancy.

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Cubans in Miami wave from the observation deck of the airport as the first plane-load of refugees from Cuba arrives.

Castro Gloats Over Refugee Exodus

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Western European diplomats stationed in Havana now knit together several causes and effects in Fidel Castro's "let them leave" strategy for Cubans seeking refuge in the United States.

These sources privately inform me that Castro himself gloats to them about how he "outsmarted the Yankees." And they say that when he heats up his violin on this theme it's clear that was his main purpose.

In such moments, Castro apparently drops his pretenses entirely and agrees humanitarian considerations had, and have, no part in the idea at all. Exactly the reverse. He seizes all funds and everything else the refugees own except the bits of clothes they can carry and even boasts of the profit gleaned in houses, furniture, cars, tools and whatnot.

Most of these shameful rewards go to agents in his DGI (Central Directorate of Intelligence), Castro's counterespionage and subversive arm. This is the police group that processes each case and also controls the prison camps.

An unknown number of houses have also been turned over to the increasing representatives of Moscow's iron-fisted GUIA bureau (Glavnoye Upravlenye Iuzhnoi Ameriki—Central Administration for South America).

Next, as suspected, now that Castro has put into practice his Sept. 28 pledge that "all who wish may leave," this became pure hogwash. No militiamen or militia women, which spans nearly all able-bodied, and specifically all youths between 14 and 27 years of age, can leave. No skilled workers can leave. This is Castro's "open door."

Even while Castro was negotiating the transportation arrangements with our State Department, his Central Labor Bureau called in the employment permits of the professional workers and specialists and added a requirement that they were not to leave the country for five years. The "open door" was slammed shut.

Moreover, the others in excluded categories know better than even to apply. So do most of the eligibles. Applying can be dangerous. More than 50,000 political prisoners are already in jails and the DGI sent many of the applicants off to join them—just in case.

There these wretched souls can only wait for years on end and sing their sad, sad songs of love and longing with their murmured words of consolation and hope.

In fact, the Western European diplomats tell me several men high in Castro's government also made tentative approaches for permission to leave. They cited trumped-up reasons, and are now imprisoned on the Isle of Pines as potential defectors and "enemies of the Socialist revolution."

This is the same automatic charge I found throughout the Red satellite states in Europe to cover anything and everything. It's the catchall that fills Prague's Pankrac Prison and the vast Litchtenburg in East Berlin as readily as the political jails in the USSR itself.

Beyond his propaganda objective, Castro chiefly hopes to rid the country of the halt, the maimed and other "nonproducers," and even stated this to a new group he formed on Oct. 2, five days after his "open door" announcement.

The two moves seem related in the face of the country's deteriorating condition. This new group is a 104-member Central Committee under his eight-man Politburo which is supposed to bring some kind of order out of the production chaos.

Castro then went on to explain to the committee how his "open door" idea put the Yankees on the spot, helped destroy the correct image of Cuba as a steel-girdered police state and let others abroad worry about a lot of people he didn't want to worry about.

On the basis of the performance to date, the Western European diplomats, and even the Cuban underground inside Cuba, do not feel that Castro is utilizing the exodus idea to increase greatly his delivery of Red agents into the United States or is particularly interested in doing so.

Their past importance has been chiefly to intimidate, thwart and even to assassinate Cuban freedom fighters in Florida who operated there against him. These operations have been so shackled by our own prohibitions, alas, that the large counterforce Castro already had in our country, and which remains here, needs little augmenting.

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THE TROUBLE with the public debt is that private individuals have to pay for it.—From the Ashland (Kan.) Clark County *Clipper*

Churchill Now Target

How to Rewrite History

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

I suppose it was inevitable.

During the past decade or so we have been regaled with an interminable series of sniggering "research papers" and pulp magazine features informing us—for our own good, of course—that George Washington was really a profane rounder, that Charlemagne practiced incest as regularly as Van Cliburn practices the piano, that Paul Revere was so cowardly he needed the horse between his legs to keep his knees from knocking together and that Richard the Lion-Hearted was a confirmed homosexual all through the Third Crusade.

And now within the last few weeks we have been breathlessly put on notice that Winston Churchill was wrong all

The "new" historians find Winston Churchill was wrong almost all his life.

his life. He was incorrect about the General Strike during the '20s. He was outrageously mistaken about Gallipoli.

He was out of line in his support of Edward VIII during the latter's marital contretemps. And, of course, his stubborn opposition to the international Communist conspiracy over the years helped to bring on the Cold War by keeping us from practicing togetherness with lovable Joe Stalin and that jovial fat friend of the small farmer, Nikita Khrushchev.

So, in keeping with the spirit of the times, a recent practitioner of hysterical history is now about to make a mint out of "exposing" Sir Winston's fatal penchant for always being wrong.

There have always been muckrakers like this, and I suppose there always will be. If they can't nose up any dirt in a great man's past, they'll plant some. What concerns me as a schoolman is the tendency for some of this pseudo-research to slop over from the pulps into the curriculum of America's children.

It's a fine way to rewrite history, you know. George Orwell saw it coming 20 years ago.

Don't talk about Washington's masterful marshalling and husbanding of our scanty manpower and feeble resources during the eight years of the longest war we ever fought. Point out instead how he owned slaves and was cruel to animals every time he hunted foxes.

Play down Lincoln's patient search for a general who wanted to win and who knew how to fight until he finally came up with Grant and won the greatest struggle of the 19th Century. Play up his bad table manners and his country jokes.

Stress the countless weaknesses to which all flesh is heir. Always keep dwelling on our labor strife and our racial problems and child labor 40 years ago and the trusts 40 years before that.

Tell the children all about the ancient *Credit Mobilier* scandal and Teapot Dome and the mink coats and deep freezers of our own day. Soft pedal Bunker Hill and the Emancipation Proclamation and how we saved the world from dictatorship twice in one generation without getting one nickel in reparations or one square foot of conquered territory.

Make a fetish of balancing every one of our national virtues with an equally prominent national vice, no matter how deeply you may have to dig in order to dredge up one of the latter. In this way you will no doubt produce a perfectly balanced, bland, tasteless, lifeless, gutless picture of our country for the kids to take out into life with them.

It's not good enough, in this, the seventh decade of the 20th Century. Worse, it's not history. Worst, it's not even true, any more than a biography of your own life based entirely on how you behaved at New Year's Eve parties would be the truth.

When Churchill stood alone on his little island, the weaponless relics of the BEF streaming piecemeal back from Dunkirk, the bombs of Goering's planes already beginning to fall on a defenseless London, the lights of civilization starting to flicker out across the world, and when he roared the immemorial defiance of the British lion into the teeth of the greatest evil ever to challenge mankind, *this* was the truth. And this is the way we had better teach it to the children.

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PILOTS' WINGS CLIPPED—The New York *Daily News'* Saigon correspondent, Joseph Fried, reported recently that "America's wings in Viet Nam have been clipped by new restrictions on bombing of certain targets in the north." Fried learned that one Washington ruling bars U.S. pilots from making more than one air strike against any authorized target in North Viet Nam within a span of several weeks. Another restriction would cut down the number of raids in an area adjoining the Hanoi-Haiphong sanctuary which was already off limits to American fliers. U.S. air strikes, Fried said, appear now to be limited to about one-third of North Viet Nam.

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NOT HALF THE STORY—Rep. Ed Gurney (R.-Fla.) notes that Senate-House conferees agreed to a one-year foreign aid authorization of $3.3 billion. That's not half the story, he says. The foreign aid budget for fiscal 1966 is actually $7.5 billion, when funds for 14 other projects are tallied. These programs include the Peace Corps, the Import-Export Bank and the Food for Peace program.

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Why a Return to the Geneva Agreements Would Be Political Folly

A Canadian diplomat who worked with the International Control Commission during the '50s describes his experiences and says a 'peace' based on these agreements would mean disaster for South Viet Nam.

Introduction...

The Communists, the peaceniks and many liberals continue to proclaim that the United States, by aiding the South Vietnamese defend their homeland, are violating the Geneva agreements of 1954. Their constant cry to the United States remains: Abide by the accords. Should we listen to them? These agreements, or accords, came into being after Ho Chi Minh's Communists inflicted a spectacular defeat on the French at Dien Bien Phu in North Viet Nam. Agreements, hammered out in Geneva, Switzerland, at a multi-nation conference, forced France to evacuate French Indochina—i.e., Cambodia and the two Viet Nams—and established international control machinery to insure the independence of these countries.

The Johnson Administration flatly rejects the charge that it has violated the Geneva agreements. Indeed, it goes further: It says that it is willing to negotiate a new peace with the Communists on the basis of these 1954 agreements.

On this issue the Administration appears in accord with J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Sen. Fulbright said in the spring of this year that in Viet Nam "much [may] . . . be said for a return to the Geneva accords in 1954, not just in their 'essentials' but in all their specifications."

Yet to go back to the Geneva agreements would be to court disaster; it would clearly mean that American lives have been lost in vain in Viet Nam.

Frank N. Trager, a student of the Far East and a prominent professor of international affairs, declares: "Close study of these agreements leads to an opposite conclusion [from that of Fulbright]. Neither the 'essentials' nor the 'specifications' should be sought again. They were written in haste and ended in compromise with, and concessions to, the Communist powers. They add up to political folly. These agreements aided Communist North Viet Nam to initiate further struggle against South Viet Nam and prevented any objective peacekeeping machinery from performing its assigned function. They also fed the Pathet Lao in Laos and helped to bring the country almost to ruin."

The various non-Communist delegations at Geneva, says Trager, were in part the victims of French political pressure. This pressure was created by Premier Pierre Mendes-France, who came to power in mid-June with the promise he would bring about a solution to the Geneva conference and an end to the Franco-Vietnamese war by July 21 or he would resign.

"Premier Mendes-France," charges Trager, "was openly in opposition to the U.S.-supported European Defense Community concept—as was the USSR. He thereby gained (in secret sessions) some cooperation from Molotov, the Russian representative, in fulfilling his timetable but at the expense of compromises and concessions which the Western powers and the state of Viet Nam had not wanted to make."

The 1954 agreements contain a declaration of 13 articles and three agreements governing the cessation of hostilities. Nine states took part in the Geneva conference: Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Communist North Viet Nam), Laos, France, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, the United Kingdom, the Republic of South Viet Nam and the United States. Neither South Viet Nam nor the United States signed the agreements.

It should be emphasized, remarks Prof. Trager, that though neither the United States nor the Republic of Viet Nam were signatories, this fact of itself does not wholly relieve the two governments from observing the provisions provided all other parties abided by them. There is precedent in international law for observing treaties and agreements which cover a zone or subject of interests even if a government is not a signatory to the treaty.

"However," says Trager, "any breach of the articles of the agreement by any of the contracting parties automatically suspends or destroys the basis for compliance by other contracting or related parties.

". . . Any objective examination of the post-Geneva conduct of North Viet Nam with respect to the key provisions of the agreements—military matters, treatment of civilian populations in the zone of the south from which its cadres were to depart and in its own territory and aiding and abetting international subversion—yields data sufficient to declare that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam violated the agreements almost as soon as they were signed."

Below, in fact, is a detailed account by an eyewitness of just how the Reds violated these agreements. This account is in the form of a letter written by Theodore Beaubien Blockley to Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) who put the letter into the *Congressional Record*, Oct. 21, 1965.

Mr. Blockley's report is impressive because he served as senior political adviser to the Canadian commissioner to the International Control Commission for Viet Nam. The ICC, set up by the Geneva agreements, was composed of representatives of India, Canada and Poland. It was charged with control and supervision of the accords.

Its duties were to set up fixed and mobile inspection teams to prevent either the French or the Reds from violating the agreements. The hitch, however, and the obvious weakness in the Geneva agreements, was that one member of the ICC could always veto any important action the majority members of the ICC felt were necessary to stop any of the violations.

The one member that almost always stood in the way was the Polish representative.

Mr. Blockley demonstrates for all to see how the Reds, not the Western powers or the South Vietnamese government, ripped the Geneva accords to shreds, and he shows clearly why the United States must not return to the weak protection of these agreements if it desires to save South Viet Nam.

Mr. Blockley's account begins below.

Dear Sen. Dodd: Thank you for inviting me to write and tell you of some of my experiences and views I formed while I was a member of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission in Indochina. A career diplomat in the Canadian Foreign Service, I was, in 1957-58, senior political adviser to the Canadian Commission on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam (to give it its full name in English). I also served as legal adviser to all three Canadian commissioners (for Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia) and also was acting leader of the delegation to the Viet Nam commission on a number of occasions. In the course of this service I had several conversations with Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong and Gen. Giap; and with Premier Chou En-lai and several of the Russian leaders.

The study of the Geneva Agreements (1954) I was called on to make in connection with the performance of my duties led me to the firm conclusion that no legal or moral obligations devolved upon the government of South Viet Nam from the operation of the agreement relating to Viet Nam.

The parties to this agreement were France, a defeated colonial power endeavoring to extricate itself from the consequences of a military defeat at the hands of an insurgent body, the other party to the agreement, which was itself opposed by another very large segment of the population.

By no norm of international law with which I am familiar could the onerous undertakings of a colonial power in favor of one segment of the population—of the national community—be regarded as devolving upon another segment of the community which was subsequently successful in wresting its own independence from the colonial power.

As signatories of the agreement, both France and North Viet Nam are in breach of the agreement, but it is absurd to talk of the United States or South Viet Nam, who opposed the agreement, as having "broken" it.

In any event the agreement was hardly signed before the Communist North Vietnamese government had breached it. Although almost a million non-Communists managed to get away from North Viet Nam as the French were surrendering (an extraordinary mass "voting with the feet" to which I have seen little reference recently), the agreement provided for exit permits for all others who wished to leave.

These were denied tens of thousands of persons of whom the commission had knowledge; how many millions more there were of whom the commission had no knowledge we shall never know. The commission does know that there was a large-scale revolt in one of the provinces of North Viet Nam, largely over this matter of the refusal of the North Vietnamese authorities to issue the exit permits which had been promised the local population, and to which they were entitled under the agreement. Canadians serving on the commission's local team saw evidence of suppression of the revolt with their own eyes, and received full accounts, but the commission would not, and could not, do anything about it.

Risk of Death

Early attempts by some Canadians and a very few Indians to insist that the North Vietnamese carry out the terms of the agreement in respect to certain individuals were tantamount to sentences of death for them.

I have referred in an earlier letter to the hours spent by members of the Canadian delegation, including myself, in destroying thousands of petitions from people in North Viet Nam who clearly came within the protecting clauses of the agreement, so that there would be no chance of the petitions falling into the hands of the Communist authorities. To give some of the Indians their due, I was told by some of them that they had done likewise with petitions addressed either to their delegation or to the commission secretariat.

During Chou En-lai's state visit to Hanoi, I was invited, as acting leader of the delegation at the time, to attend the numerous receptions which were accorded him. At the first of these I was singled out by Ho Chi Minh as the only person at the reception besides the guest of honor, Chou, with whom he conversed. In the course of the evening I had two long talks with him, and two with Chou En-lai.

Early the next morning I was roused by the delegation officer of the day who informed me a mob had gathered at the delegation office building, part of which had forced itself into the courtyard of the building, despite the effort of armed Communist guards, and unarmed Canadian soldiers, to keep them out. I was driven hurriedly to the office building, the crowd (which I estimated at over a thousand and growing rapidly) letting the car through when the orderly officer called out, "*C'est M. l'Ambassadeur canadien.*"

Going through a postern in the main gates of the carriage entrance to the building courtyard, I found 200 or 300 North Vietnamese milling around in there, with a score or so of anxious Canadian soldiers keeping them from going up the staircases into the offices

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themselves. I went up to a half-way landing on one of these staircases and shouted for silence, then singled out an impressive looking Vietnamese matron to act as spokesman, demanding to know from her what the demonstration was all about.

She told me the rumor had quickly spread about Hanoi during the preceding evening and night that the Canadian delegation now enjoyed cordial relations with the Communist authorities and would now be able to insure the issuance of exit permits to those who had been denied them. "So," she added quite simply, "I knew there would be thousands coming for them today, so I came early for mine, as have these other people."

In the meantime truckloads of armed police and soldiers had been arriving outside, and struggles were developing as they tried to seize people in the crowd. Shouting so that I could be heard above the commotion, I managed to arrest these activities, and then I addressed the crowd from the outside staircase landing. *"Que vous etes fous—fous—fous"*—"How mad you are to come here" and going on in French, "The Canadian delegation can never, never, never help you—it does not want to help you. Never come near this building again, nor go near the commission building. And tell everybody else so. Now, run, run, run, and get away as fast as you can."

Commission Failure

As I cried out the last words I signalled to the Canadian soldiers who swung open the great gates, and the crowd in the courtyard erupted into the crowd outside, and all turned and scattered, bowling over many police and soldiers who, miraculously, refrained from opening fire (although we had heard rifle fire in Hanoi on previous nights).

The last I saw of the marvelous old Vietnamese dame, she had kilted her ground-length skirts up to her knees, had nimbly dodged two or three soldiers and police, leaped into a pedicab which she must have arranged for beforehand, and careened off down the street, rounding a corner on two wheels while a policeman who had been pursuing her in another pedicab lay sprawled in the street, his pedicab operator either deliberately or accidentally having upset in attempting to round the same corner.

Mercifully, only two or three truckloads of prisoners were borne off in the police vans. All efforts in the commission subsequently to ensure these luckless ones were not punished for attempting to exercise their rights under the Geneva Agreements went without success.

In view of the commission's sorry record of failure to extend any sort of protection to persons entitled to such protection under the Geneva Agreements, anyone who suggests it could do any better in assuring a terror-free election throughout North and South Viet Nam must be utterly disingenuous, incredibly ignorant or downright pro-Communist!

I will but briefly mention the dreadful experience of finding North Vietnamese in my office and in my residence—the Lord knows how they had managed to get in, evading both the Vietnamese and Canadian guards—who would then plead with me to save them by smuggling them out, breaking down and throwing their arms around my feet, even threatening me, and whom I in turn would have to threaten with calling the Communist police before they would leave. Some of these were actually government officials.

When I first arrived in Hanoi I was tendered a reception which was attended by many of the North Vietnamese leaders. Assigned an escorting officer who spoke impeccable French and very good English, I managed to duck out from under his guard, leaving him pinned down by the British consul-general and the French delegate-general.

I managed to slip off with three young majors of the North Vietnamese Army, one of whom, I noted—to the evident pleasure of all three—wore the "Hero of Dien Bien Phu" medal, North Viet Nam's equivalent of the Medal of Honor. Quickly establishing rapport with the majors—I served for close to 15 years in the Canadian and British Armies and Air Forces—I turned the conversation to political matters.

In an effort to convince me of the nobility of the ideals of communism, the "Hero of Dien Bien Phu" referred to the recent conduct of his chief, Col. Ha Van Lo, head of the North Vietnamese Liaison Mission with the International Commission.

Dual Morality

Col. Ha Van Lo, to whom I had been introduced, was standing across the room regarding us with a baleful stare. He looked like a character actor out of Hollywood central casting. A former mandarin, he had a long, thin, cruel, basilisk face—quite the most frightening I have ever seen.

Col. Ha Van Lo, said the young major, had had a captive turned over to him quite recently. The captive was his own brother, an officer on the opposite side—in the South Vietnamese Army. Col. Ha Van Lo had then proceeded, personally, to torture his own brother to death—not too quickly—extracting a lot of useful information from him during the process, said my admiring informant.

Didn't that prove what a magnificent thing communism must be, to make a man do that to his own brother? Fortunately, at this point my escorting officer came hurrying up to reclaim his charge!

From time to time there has been some measure of public outcry in the United States, Canada and in Europe over the rough treatment sometimes accorded their prisoners by the South Vietnamese soldiery. But one rarely hears of the truly ghastly treatment of South Vietnamese captives by the North Vietnamese. Several of my own non-Communist friends have been most horrifyingly done to death by the Communists. One, Col. Nam, had his poor shattered corpse dumped in front of his home in Saigon for his wife and children to find. No American photographer found it worth photographing.

As a lesser example of this strange dual morality—the new double standard—we seem to apply as between acts of the Communist world and acts by those on our own side—or perhaps it is only a double standard applied by our Western press, radio and television reporters, commentators, editorialists, all concerned with the International Commission seemed to take it for granted that the Canadians in North Viet Nam should be restricted to a three-block area around their living quarters and office buildings, whereas the Poles, in South Viet Nam, would be permitted to go off to summer resorts like Cap St. Jacques, to wander about Saigon at will, and to enjoy the company of local Vietnamese.

In my early days in Hanoi the only diversion for Canadians was to go for a postprandial walk around an artificial lake, with a beautiful little pagoda in the middle. It appeared to be the only place in the city where a modicum of privacy was possible, at night, because the Viet Cong's operation of Hanoi's powerhouse was so inefficient, and the park lights merely glimmered at night.

The first night, walking alone, I joined the promenade round and round the *p'tit lac*, and heard voices in the darkness say softly, "G'night, Mister Canada," *"Bon soir, m'sieu."* At first I would turn to return the salutation, but would only encounter inscrutable Oriental faces, none seemingly aware of my presence. Shortly, I learned to reply looking straight ahead, without endeavoring to discover who had addressed me.

After I had been in Hanoi a while, I learned that it was possible to hold conversations this way—the person talking with me remaining some distance to the side and alternatively moving ahead or falling behind, usually screened by two or three friends—all of us falling silent as newcomers approached.

After I had become friendly with a number of persons this way, mostly university students, 15 or 20 of them would cluster around a park bench which had, in preparation, been inched into the darkest spot in the park, between two glimmering lamp bulbs, at the farthest point from either.

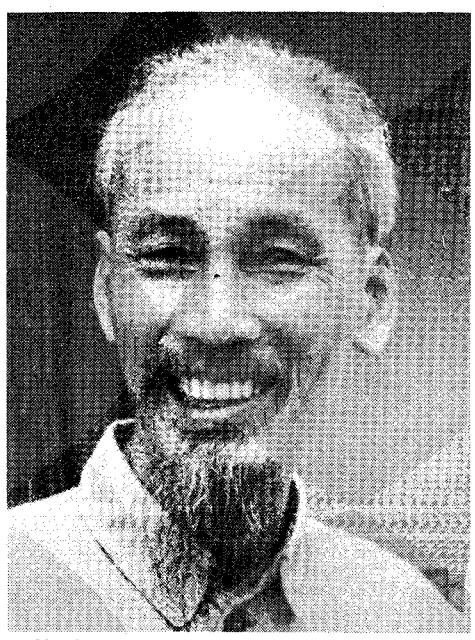
From these young men I learned that the whole student body of Hanoi University had been expelled and was being sent to work in the fields, with a complete new undergraduate year being brought in from the country. Hanoi youth were to be left to "cool off" and no high school graduates from the big city schools would be taken into the university that year.

The wholesale expulsion was because of a protest by some 20 or 30 students over some issue which I do not remember, if I was ever told. The protesters themselves had disappeared; it was generally surmised they had been executed. The expulsion order applied even to the graduating medical course, and North Viet Nam was desperately short of doctors.

I have endeavored in this letter to give some small indication of the inadequacy of the Geneva Agreement relating to Viet Nam and the inability of the International Control Commission (as well as the lack of desire) to protect the people of Viet Nam and to give them that freedom of choice which it was pretended was the objective, among others, of the Geneva Agreements.

In my opinion, the agreement was never really intended to work, and the commission was always intended to be a facade behind which the Communists—and I do not mean merely the Polish or Vietnamese Communists—were able to mount the assault which finally broke in full fury a few months ago.

Espionage, subversion and sabotage was the subject of a unanimous report I finally managed to bring in in the Legal Committee of the commission; the signing Polish member was recalled, the report repudiated by the Poles, and the Indian legal advisor got his knuckles severely rapped by New Delhi.



Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnamese government consistently violated the 1954 Geneva accords.

I have not gone into the minutiae of constant and flagrant flouting by the Communists of such restrictions as even the agreement did place upon them; despite instructions to keep contention to a minimum, the Canadians were compelled to register their dissent from the protection accorded the North Vietnamese by the Poles and Indians on a number of occasions.

Canadian Records

I recommend that you ask the Canadian government for their record of the commission's activities, including majority and minority reports to the co-chairmen and the minutes of the commission's meetings. There is no doubt whatever that the Poles have made their record, and the meetings minutes, available to the North Vietnamese, the Chinese and the Russians. I myself have seen North Vietnamese officials with copies of the minutes of previous meetings in their possession.

There is, of course, the Canadian government's white paper on the Viet Nam commission, issued quite recently, and, in line with this policy, there seems no reason why the Canadian government should not give qualified Americans, such as the members of your committee, access to selected dispatches from the Canadian delegates and alternates to the commission; after all, the U.S. State Department provides the Canadian Department of External Affairs with selected classified material which is very useful for the information of Canadian policy makers, and is released to Canada as an ally of the United States by order of the U.S. government.

It is very hard for Canadians and Americans to realize that assassination is employed by the Communists as a means of political action, and the spoofing of the fact by novels, movies and television shows makes the idea still less credible to the average Canadian and American. But I have had official dealings with chairmen and secretaries of assassination committees, so designated officially by the North Vietnamese government.

These dealings were part of my duties as a member of the commission. And the activities of the particular committees concerned extended far out of Viet Nam and into Europe. The Communists also employ, of course, subtler assassinations than that of the body. Many people are deterred from coming forward and offering their assistance in the present struggle for these reasons.

But I should count myself a traitor to the spirit of man if I did not offer every assistance which I could give to help you in your work of trying to correct the error and sophistry—making the worse appear the better thing—associated in Viet Nam, not only outside the United States, but even within the United States itself.

In 1936, although a Canadian, I joined the British Royal Air Force to play a small part in combating nazism—German national socialism; were I 20 today I should be trying to join the U.S. Air Force to make my small contribution in the struggle against Communist socialism, whose fruits I have seen. Regarded as too old today to join an Air Force, I am ready to do what I can.

With my highest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Theodore Beaubien Blockley

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Bad Day at Beaver Dam

How the Labor Department, using the Walsh-Healey Act, is bullying a small coal-mining business in Kentucky

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

The Little Nine Coal Co., located in the backwaters of Kentucky in the town of Beaver Dam, is a small-time mining operation and the sole source of income for its 20 employes and the owner-foreman, Mr. Walter Asherbraner. Because of its size and number of workers, Little Nine has never been unionized; if Mr. Asherbraner had to pay union scale wages he would go broke. His men fully realize this and have thus resisted all attempts at organization by the United Mine Workers.

The pro-union U.S. Department of Labor, however, has chosen blithely to ignore both business economics and the wishes of Little Nine's workers to remain employed. So it is now prosecuting Mr. Asherbraner under the Walsh-Healey Act of 1936—a move which could force the company to pay union scale wages and drive it into bankruptcy.

Whenever the Labor Department wishes to put pressure on a small business, such as Little Nine, the Walsh-Healey Act is a ready instrument of coercion. It is a not uncommon practice for the department to drag small business owners before a hearing examiner, charge them with assorted violations of W-H—charges which are seldom proved—and then compel the owners to pay wages which drive them to ruin or force them to lay off deserving jobholders.

It is not that the Labor Department goes around picking on small business arbitrarily; it just likes to make it "hot" for those who turn away union organizers from their doors; AFL-CIO President George Meany has indicated he thinks no business should be without unions—why should the Labor Department, dominated by ex-union personnel, feel any differently?

NRA Basis

Walsh-Healey became a weapon of oppression when it was passed during the New Deal days on the pretext that government must regulate the wage, health and safety standards of manufacturing firms under contract with Uncle Sam; it was a corollary of the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931 which set similar standards for construction companies doing work for the government.

Much of what was later incorporated into Walsh-Healey was originally part of FDR's National Recovery Act; when the NRA was declared unconstitutional, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins urged Congress to adopt Walsh-Healey so the government would be recognized as the "model employer."

In brief, W-H provides that firms with government contracts in excess of $10,000: (1) cannot use convict or child labor; (2) must pay time-and-a-half for work over 40 hours per week; (3) must maintain safe and sanitary working conditions (to be determined by the government); and, most important, (4) must not pay less than the "prevailing minimum wage."

This "prevailing minimum wage" is not the same as the minimum wage passed by Congress (presently $1.25), but rather it is the minimum wage which prevails in a specific industry either nationwide or in a particular locale (a state, country, city, etc.); these wages are determined, upon proper study (they say), by the secretary of labor.

(Many critics of the law charge that the wage limits set by the secretary for most industries, especially the larger ones, contain arbitrariness and certain error. These critics point out that on June 1, 1965, in *Baldor v. Wirtz* (U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Case No. 3973-63) the Court of Appeals agreed that errors existed in the data the secretary of labor used to determine the wage scale for the electrical industry.)

The wage rates that the secretary of labor sets almost invariably reflect the union scale. And this is the central complaint about W-H: For the Department of Labor then applies its arbitarily chosen high wage rate to large, medium and small companies, those who can well afford to pay the minimum imposed by the Department of Labor as well as those who find it exceedingly difficult.

In the case of Mr. Asherbraner and Little Nine Coal, the prevailing minimum wage for miners is set on a statewide basis; for mines in Kentucky covered by Walsh-Healey, the minimum was set at $2.59 an hour, while Asherbraner could only afford to pay his workers around $2.30. (And, incidentally, there are no other mining jobs in Beaver Dam paying $2.59 an hour on which these men might work.)

If the government's case against Little Nine can be proved, Asherbraner will have to pay over $4,000 in back wages, will probably lose customers and will have to shut down his mine for some time. He could probably have easily avoided all this, of course, by allowing the United Mine Workers to organize his employes, but this would have forced him to cut down on his payroll and generally curtail operations.

When the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division (which regulates Walsh-Healey) haled Mr. Asherbraner into a hearing last summer, its representatives charged Little Nine Coal with violating the act in three separate contracts.

In two of the contracts, however, it quickly became clear that Little Nine was just a subcontractor and obviously exempt from the act's provisions, since W-H only covers *prime* contractors. (During debate on the passage of Walsh-Healey back in 1936, in fact, the subject of whether or not subcontractors should be included had been hotly discussed. After lengthy argument, it was decided that such a provision would only muddy the waters, and even a mild provision requiring prime contractors to "call [subcontractors'] attention to" W-H regulations was defeated.)

Three Cases

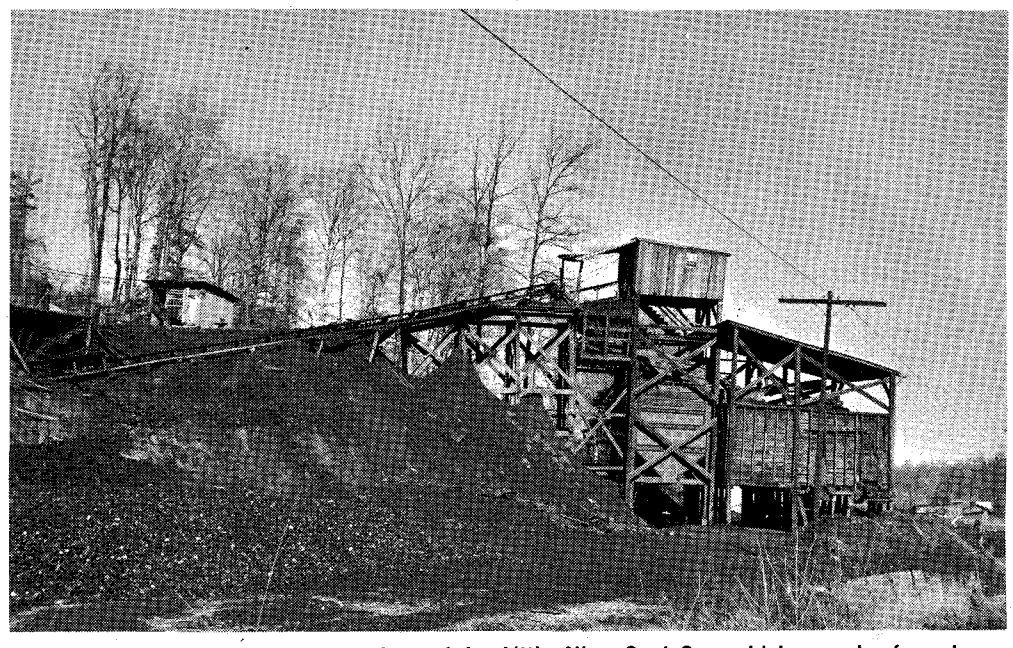
In the third contract, blunders by the purchasing agents of both Little Nine and the Tennessee Valley Authority may have caused a technical violation of W-H, but it is clear that no deliberate violation was made. Just and temperate administrators would have let the company and TVA off with mere reprimands rather than subjecting Little Nine to a heavy-handed prosecution. Nevertheless, the Department of Labor went ahead with its plans to "get" Asherbraner, and very possibly force him into bankruptcy.

On Aug. 17, 1965, a hearing was held at the Downtown Motor Inn in Owensboro, Ky., where the evidence was heard and the government employed some of its favorite trickery.

Described as concisely as possible, the three cases were as follows:

• In the first contract, the Union Carbide Co. had signed an agreement (contract No. 15H-94-302-1) with the Atomic Energy Commission under which UC was to ship the AEC a specified amount of coal; to fulfill this delivery, Union Carbide in turn contracted the J.O. Burge Coal Co., of Hartford, Ky. When Burge realized it could not meet the entire coal quota under this contract, an agreement was made through a third party—a coal brokerage agent—to have Little Nine Coal Co. sell Burge the necessary coal to meet its agreement with Union Carbide.

Though W-H only covers prime contractors and though Little Nine was in the obvious position of a subcontractor, the government nonetheless held that Little Nine, by doing business with the AEC, came under the act.



This is one part of the operations of the Little Nine Coal Co., which may be forced out of business because of arbitrary Labor Department actions.

Mr. Asherbraner's counsel at the hearings, Mr. David Walsh (who, though no relation, is ironically enough named after a co-author of Walsh-Healey, Sen. David I. Walsh of Mass.), argued that it was clear that Little Nine was, if anything, a subcontractor to the AEC. His point was amply supported.

The AEC flatly stated that the prime contractor and the agent for the government was Union Carbide, not Little Nine; indeed, AEC spokesmen said they had never even *heard* of Little Nine. A telegram from Union Carbide officials to Mr. Walsh admitted that they were the prime contractor in this case.

Yet, curiously enough, the Labor Department objected to allowing this telegram into evidence at the hearing and the federal hearing examiner—supposedly an "impartial" observer—has since rejected it as evidence.

Yet even if it could be proved that Union Carbide was *not* the prime contractor, and acted solely as an agent—an apparently difficult task—then the contractor's role would shift to Burge and Little Nine would still be only a subcontractor, not covered by W-H.

A second defense which Mr. Walsh attempted to bring out involves another, seldom used, exemption from Walsh-Healey; this provision states, in effect, that goods manufactured (or mined) before the contract is signed, but still used under the contract, are not to be covered.

In testimony at the hearing, the bookkeeper for Burge Coal, Mr. Reuben Hazel, stated that when the agreement to have Little Nine send coal to help Burge out was made, he knew " . . . Mr. Asherbraner had coal, I assume he didn't have a contract for it at the time. . . ." In other words, Asherbraner shipped coal to Burge (thus to the AEC) which had already been mined.

However, the Labor Department continued to allege that Mr. Asherbraner's company was subject to the act in this case; they did not, however, try to prove it, they did not produce the contracts in question: they left it up to Asherbraner to prove that he was *not* covered by the act.

• The second contract (No. 64P-44-T1) was a similar case. Here the Burge Coal Co. was the prime contractor, signing an agreement with the Tennessee Valley Authority to ship them some coal. When this commitment could not be met, the Burge Co. again arranged through a third party for Little Nine to make the necessary deliveries.

Mr. Walsh, Little Nine's counsel, had gotten a statement from TVA to the effect that Burge was indeed the prime contractor, thus making Little Nine the subcontractor; again the government and the hearing examiner refused to allow this statement into evidence, and the government again refused to produce any contracts to prove its dubious case.

In fact, in this case the government itself stated in its own complaint that Little Nine was the subcontractor, but that that was no matter; Mr. Asherbraner was still ordered to produce a contract so the government could "be sure." However, the Labor Department knew full well Asherbraner did not have such a contract, had never seen one and, hence, could never produce one. The following discussion took place between hearing examiner John Mealey, David Walsh and an investigator for the Department of Labor, Mr. Paul Goodwin:

> Goodwin: "[When I talked with Asherbraner] Little Nine Coal Co. did not have copies of the contract. . . ."
>
> Walsh: "Did you make an effort to find a copy of the contract?"
>
> Goodwin: "There was no discussion between Mr. Asherbraner and myself concerning this matter after he had, either he or Mr. Reed [Little Nine's bookkeeper], had advised me that the contracts were not there."

(Continued on next page)

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Mealy: " . . . did you make an effort to ascertain a single contract that applied to the production and furnishing of coal? . . ."

Goodwin: "No, sir."

• The third contract in question was a "spot" contract (No. 64P-14-596) between the TVA and Little Nine Coal, with the latter being the prime contractor. The spot coal contract specifically stipulates that the total amount of the transaction shall be for less than $10,000 and that all business under the contract shall take place within 30 days (which is usually a four-week period).

Spot contracts were devised, and are used by government agencies, just so that small, non-union companies such as Little Nine can produce and sell coal to the government without having to come under Walsh-Healey; as the spot contract sets the limit of the agreement at $10,000, the prime contractor is quite clearly exempted. But in this particular case the Labor Department attempted to show that Little Nine's contract exceeded $10,000 and was, therefore, covered by the act.

The procedure under the spot contract is for the agent of the coal company to make a bid to the purchaser—in this case TVA—on the Monday of each week during the 30 days; each bid is then accepted and delivery is made. In this instance, however, the 30 days the contract was awarded for happened to include five Mondays, so the agent mistakenly made five bids, five awards were given by TVA and five contracts were signed—all under the one spot contract. And because the last, fifth bid pushed the total over $10,000, the government claims coverage of Walsh-Healey.

Little Nine's defense is that the last TVA award—the one which went $500 over $10,000—was finally accepted on the 32nd day; therefore, the deliveries were not made within 30 days, nor were the $10,500 in coal sales made within 30 days, as the contract stipulates and as Walsh-Healey allows, so the $500 extra is not covered either by the contract or by the act.

A second defense which Mr. Walsh raised was that, as on each Monday the brokerage agent for the mine made a bid, and as each week TVA accepted the bid and signed a new agreement covering coal deliveries for *just* that week, that actually five different contracts were negotiated, not just one.

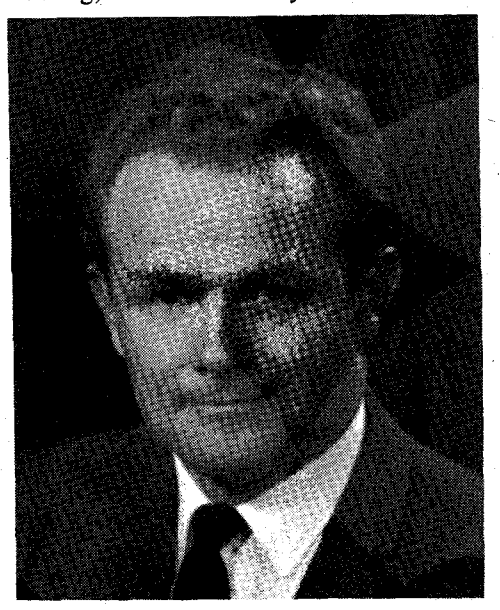
As Mr. Harold Martin, Little Nine's brokerage agent, explained this process at the hearings, " . . . portions of this coal delivery was [sic] bid on a separate bid on a separate week, and was [sic] granted separately by TVA. This is a fact. Whether or not this has any bearing or is worthless, I don't know, but actually I did bid five times and received five awards." And as none of these five, naturally, exceeded $10,000, the defense argued, none was subject to the act.

'Impartial' Examiner

During this portion of the hearing the federal examiner, the "impartial" man in the middle, showed that he was not, at least, partial to the defense. When Mr. Walsh asked whether or not the examiner had the right to rule that the defendent had to produce payroll records, even though the government had not produced any contract, the examiner said he had this right; when Walsh asked the examiner what section of the act this ruling was based on, the examiner, Mr. Mealy, replied haughtily:

"I am not citing any section to you. I am not called upon to do so. I make rulings; I act impartially. If you don't think it is, it is subject to attack by you. In the meantime I will not contend with your contemptuous behavior in this proceeding."

(Mr. Walsh has had long experience with Walsh-Healey cases and has been threatened with contempt before for his arguments; during the course of this hearing, examiner Mealy made the revealing statement to Walsh that ". . . when I heard you had been appointed counsel for the respondent from the Department of Labor, they said let me fill you in [on Walsh] and I said I didn't want to hear it." Such are the tactics of the Labor Department.)



David Walsh represented Asherbraner during the hearings.

In the face of this evidence—in all three cases—the government pushes on, hell-bent to force this small business into bankruptcy; cracking the long whip of the federal bureaucracy and bringing private enterprise to its knees seems to be Labor's favorite pastime.

At issue in the case against Little Nine Coal is $4,243 in back wages which the Labor Department claims Asherbraner owes his workers for labor during the periods his company was allegedly under the coverage of the Walsh-Healey Act.

When Asherbraner was first notified he was to be called to a hearing on these government charges, he shut down his mine. Never having had any previous run-ins with the Labor Department, he was not familiar with all of the provisions of Walsh-Healey nor aware of his strong defense.

He candidly told his workers what the situation was and told them he would have to close down for a long time if he was forced to pay the back wages. When he then offered the men checks for the amount the government claimed each was due, the workers turned around and endorsed the checks right back to him, many stating as they did that "I don't deserve it" or "we'd rather keep on working."

By statement of Mr. Asherbraner's bank, this transaction constituted payment of the alleged back wages, and would seem to be just one more reason for the government to halt its prosecution; but no. The Labor Department's representatives at the hearing were skeptical that this dealing was quite what they had in mind, and the examiner refused to rule on the legality of this payment.

It would be a good guess that they were all flabbergasted that a workingman could actually *ever* show sympathy and loyalty to his employer; it is doubtful if the Labor Department sees much of that sort of thing.

The case is still pending before the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division, but Little Nine's counsel thinks he has a good chance of having the case dismissed; at present the government is taking a delaying action and the examiner keeps calling for more briefs from the defendant.

Even if the charges were finally dismissed, Mr. Asherbraner is still out a great deal of money. In addition to legal costs, every day he is away from the mine he is forced to close down operations because of his position as foreman and his being the only man qualified to run Little Nine.

Labor Pressure

Most important for Asherbraner, however, is that the Department of Labor has taken the trouble to inform some of his best customers, specifically TVA, about these alleged—not yet proved, mind you—violations of Walsh-Healey. At one point TVA indicated it would no longer deal with the Little Nine Coal Co., but has since begun to change its mind.

Such is the way the Department of Labor uses Walsh-Healey to put pressures on private enterprise. This is only one of the numerous reasons hearings may well be held during the next session of Congress to seriously consider repealing this act; many objective and responsible people have become alarmed at the discretionary powers and coercive tactics which the act provides and, on the other hand, not many people can point out any beneficial aspects of the outdated act.

As the government continues to expand its purchase of goods from private enterprise, the implications of Walsh-Healey become more important and have a wide-ranging effect; as a large number of individuals come into contact with its provisions, the sentiment for repeal grows.

Strong opposition to such a move can be expected from organized labor and, no doubt, the Department of Labor itself; the AFL-CIO's "Platform Proposals" to both political conventions in 1964 urged that Walsh-Healey be extended to include fringe benefits as well as wages, health and safey standards.

But while these measures are debated, Mr. Walter Asherbraner, owner of Little Nine Coal, sole supporter of 20 employes, has learned how the U.S. government serves to protect the small businessman.

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Why Fabians Would Sacrifice U.S. Lives in Viet Nam War

By ALICE WIDENER

By strange coincidence, it seems that whenever the United States is engaged in anti-Communist action anywhere—whether it be China in the 1940s, Korea in the 1950s, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam in the 1960s—an enterprising British journalist manages to interview the Communist leaders and present a most sympathetic picture of them to readers of the New York *Times*.

Invariably the articles are well written and full of unfamiliar local color; always, it seems, the reporter's name and personal political affiliation are relatively unfamiliar to Americans. Somehow, too, these British-penned news stories always are highly critical of us and are designed to persuade us that American anti-Communist action is doomed to failure and ought to be restrained or halted.

Currently there has appeared in the New York *Times* a series of articles by a British newspaperman named James Cameron in Hanoi, North Viet Nam. There has been no explanation of why he is *persona grata* there. The *Times* merely informs us that James Cameron was in Red China in 1954 and wrote the book *Mandarin Red*.

Mr. Cameron tells us our bombings of North Viet Nam really are not hurting the Communist war effort; the economy is mainly agrarian and the North Vietnamese regard the bombings as temporary inconveniences creating a few easily surmounted difficulties.

He reports that Red Premier Pham Van Dong says that "the American soldiers are unexpectedly easy to fight" and that "half as many French in the south would be giving our people more trouble than the 170,000 Americans. I can understand it. If I were an American young man I wouldn't want to fight here either. The whole situation is nonsensical and wretched."

Cameron shows no hesitancy whatsoever in quoting this Red propaganda. But he remains mysteriously reticent about himself. With suspect modesty, he writes, "I had been in the north some weeks before I could make contact with Mr. Dong. I was, after all, a bit of an anomaly in the country. Hanoi is not given to accepting Westerners, and infinitely more important missionaries than I had been given a steely brush-off. I was representing nobody but myself, and it seemed the premier would not recognize a vagrant citizen of a nation that does not, after all, recognize him."

But Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong did recognize James Cameron. Was he such an anomaly? Or was he a standard mold British Fabian much more international Socialist than nationalist British?

What James Cameron represents, with his hard-to-believe self-description as a "nobody" in the north is not too difficult to figure out. Evidently he is just another character in a long line of British Fabians wanting nothing so much as a stalemate between us and the Reds in order to save what is dearest to all Fabian hearts—socialism.

All Fabian Socialists know that a Communist defeat would be a defeat for socialism. To anyone who has studied *New Fabian Essays* (1952) and *Fabian International Essays* (1957), it is merely a routine bore to read Cameron on Ho and Pham in Hanoi, for most of what he writes was written earlier by Fabians about Mao and Chou in Peking, Kim in Pyonyang, Stalin and Khrushchev in Moscow, and Fidel in Havana.

How long are we Americans going to be pushovers for this kind of pink Limey twaddle, whether it be presented by the Fabians' nearest and dearest mouthpiece, the New York *Times*, or by the Fabians' intellectual Boston outlet, the Charles River Group who influenced the late John F. Kennedy to describe the Communist enemy as an "adversary"?

R.H.S. Crossman explains in his Fabian *Philosophy of Socialism* that ideological detachment is "a requisite" on both sides of the Iron Curtain. He writes that in a struggle between the United States and the USSR "a victory for either side would be a defeat for socialism." This is the only defeat the Fabians wish to avoid. Socialism is their god. And so they sired the American no-win policy.

When James Cameron's propaganda for halting our bombing of North Viet Nam is read in proper context of British Fabianism, it becomes clear why he says that our bombing doesn't hurt the North Vietnamese and they couldn't care less if we keep it up and even bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, but even if we do, we will lose the war, and we ought to call a halt to the bombings immediately because Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong say they will negotiate with us if we withdraw all our unexpectedly easy-to-fight American troops from Viet Nam.

I am tired of reading British Fabian propaganda in the New York Times and hearing it from CBS London correspondents. I am tired of reading on-the-scene reports in American magazines by British Socialist newspapermen who just happen to pop up and be welcomed in Peking, Moscow, Pyonyang, Hanoi, Havana, Santo Domingo and other places.

But my own reactions are inconsequential. The big question is: How long are Americans going to continue to offer up bloody GI living sacrifices to the Fabians' god? Weak, arrogant and mistaken, these Fabians sacrificed thousands upon thousands of their kinsmen on the altar of appeasement during the 1930s and brought on World War II.

Evidently they are at it again and won't be satisfied until they have brought on World War III by their requisite "ideological detachment" and their denial of victory to anyone but themselves. This policy of denial led them in 1945 to commit one of the basest acts of ingratitude ever committed in all history. While Winston Churchill was at the Potsdam Conference, they snatched victory from the hands of the great man who had enabled them to survive.

In their will not only to survive but to rule, they are totally indifferent to American principles and ideals; to achieve their desired stalemate, they are ready and willing to sacrifice American lives.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Troops of the First Infantry Division advance on Viet Cong positions.

New Civil Rights 'Plans':

Closed Schools, Computers and Compulsory Voting

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

The revolutionaries in Russia murdered the czar and his family; in France they killed the king and his queen, and in the United States the revolutionaries of the civil rights movement are going a little berserk, too.

There was a "planning" get-together of some 200 civil rights zealots at the White House during the week before Thanksgiving. The subject of the discussion: "After legislation—what?" Some of the proposals to make legislative equality work carried the ring of the firing squad and the thump of the guillotine. If put into practice, these ideas would leave bodies of common liberties by the execution wall, and heads of everyday freedoms in the basket of the scaffold. For example, it was proposed that:

Wherever bussing of school children had been resisted, or had failed to produce a satisfactory mix of the races, these schools should be closed. In short, the civil rightists would imitate what Southern segregationists had done before the court rulings caught up with them.

Wherever Negroes appeared to be excluded from Southern jury panels, the Civil Rights Commission would step in and pick the jurors by computer. Thus, the federal government would employ the science of cybernetics to obtain suitable verdicts.

Wherever Negroes appeared to be indifferent or fearful about exercising their voting rights, a form of compulsory voting would be instituted. The proposition of one man, one vote would be extended to the proposition of every man, every vote. If this system should follow the precedent established in some dictatorships, notably in Latin America, a citizen would have to get his Social Security card stamped at the voting booth. He would lose his benefits, possibly his job, by failure to vote.

These examples, given me by a participant in the White House discussions, by no means have gained any Administration approval, or even the approval of the cooler heads among the panelists. But every administration since 1949 has been pushed toward more radical positions on racial equality than it volunteered to take. Everywhere the hotheads have prevailed beyond general expectation, and often beyond the law.

It was not anticipated that federal money would go to selecting textbooks and monitoring schoolroom courses, but it's being done by bureaucratic management. Last year's civil rights act specifically disavows "bussing," but car-lifting of children has taken place just the same. In the atmosphere of revolutionary fervor, let no man say of an outlandish proposal, "It can't happen here."

The social climate in which civil rightists now prepare to reap the harvest of legislation is stormy with vengeance and stressful with frustration. Neighborhood structures which represent some freedom of association, local customs and "unwritten laws" which are reflected in courtroom procedure, even freedom of people to vote or not to vote—these, like the sovereigns of overthrown monarchies, are listed to walk the last mile.

Perhaps some pity should be kept in reserve for the new order as well as the old. It is already apparent in these wild and desperate proposals by the ultra-radicals that they are seeing their illusions fade. The civil rights legislation, sweeping as it is, does not enact Utopia—and unconditional equality still must wait.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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14b A THREAT—Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) predicts the second session of the 89th Congress will see the Administration again attempt inroads into the power of individual states. Of the Administration drive to repeal section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, Dominick says: "Such action would mean a simple act of congressional legislation can eliminate part of a state constitution. No provision of a state constitution would remain sacrosanct if Congress were permitted to repeal the right-to-work provision."

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The author of "The Noblest Cry" links FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover (left) with Nazi chieftain George Lincoln Rockwell.

American Civil Liberties Union Should Repudiate New Smear Book

By VICTOR LASKY

Whatever one may think of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), no one can deny its effectiveness in espousing the rights of people of all persuasions—from left to right—to have their say without fear of repression.

Therefore it comes as somewhat of a surprise that the ACLU, an organization of such sophistication, has permitted to be written of itself a laudatory volume that employs the very techniques of smear and guilt by association which the ACLU is pledged to combat. The book, by Charles Lam Markmann, is entitled *The Noblest Cry: A History of the American Civil Liberties Union.*

Markmann's dedication is: "To those who have made the most significant contributions of the past quarter-century to the development of a conscience in the United States, this book is dedicated with ambivalent thanks: Ross Barnett, Roy M. Cohn, T. Eugene Connor, Charles E. Coughlin, James O. Eastland, Orval Faubus, Barry M. Goldwater, Billy James Hargis, William Randolph Hearst, J. Edgar Hoover, Fulton Lewis Jr., Albert J. Lingo, Joseph R. McCarthy, Robert R. McCormick, Richard M. Nixon, Joseph Medill Patterson, Westbrook Pegler, William Dudley Pelley, Leander H. Perez, George Lincoln Rockwell, Gerald L.K. Smith, George Sokolsky, Edwin A. Walker, George Wallace, Robert H.W. Welch."

Thus people like Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater and J. Edgar Hoover are linked with the likes of George Lincoln Rockwell, Gerald L.K. Smith and William Dudley Pelley as alleged enemies of freedom. This, needless to say, is a foul smear. And the ACLU should immediately apologize to those maligned, in its name, by author Markmann.

The book is an extraordinary compendium of vilification. For example, President Johnson is described as being "devoid of loyalty and common decency" because he ousted the unfortunate Walter Jenkins as a White House assistant.

Then there is an incredibly cruel reference to the police: "Police work, in any society and under any form of government, can by its nature attract only the less admirable elements of the population . . . . Almost every policeman everywhere is a potential Fascist; if he were not, he could never contemplate being a policeman."

Even more offensive, perhaps, is the author's contention that if paganism had been somewhat more intelligent "the world would have been spared the 2,000-year sickness of Christendom." Thus Christianity is branded a "sickness" in a book extolling the virtues of an organization which supposedly has no opinions on religion.

The author claims he "did not set out to write an 'anti-American' book." Yet, after quoting Associate Justice Louis Brandeis' dissent in the wire-tapping cases, Markmann wrote that "what Brandeis decried and deplored has become, instead, the guiding 'principle' of a government that invades the rights of its subjects and the territories of its most distant and weakest neighbors, a government whose subversions of honor both foreign and domestic have made its noble pretensions anathema among honest men at home and abroad."

The ACLU reportedly is disturbed by *The Noblest Cry.* Under the circumstances, the noblest act the ACLU can perform is to publicly repudiate the book. And the sooner the better.

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OUR POLITICAL WORLD—With scientific organizations around the country heavily influenced by liberals, the following remarks by Henry Eyring, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in the September issue of the AAAS *Bulletin*, are very refreshing: "We live in a shifting political world with more than the usual amount of double-talk. Again, what is truth? Here the test is not words but performance. Government is for the benefit of man and not man for the benefit of government. When communism or any of the other despotisms can be voted out of office whenever the people no longer want it, then, and not until then, will the first faltering step up from political barbarism have been taken. Any system which claims to save the body or the souls of people against their will is evil in origin and must be combatted by a free people. Any man who arrogates to himself the right to dictate what another shall think must surely eventually fail. In spite of the shortcomings of our civilization, nothing comparable to the spiritual and material blessing of the Western world has ever been enjoyed before. Nothing is more urgent than making sure that the unfolding of Western civilization is not halted by the violent despotisms now struggling for world dominion."

Orville Blows a Foggy Horn

From the Chicago *Tribune*

In recent months Johnson Administration agriculture officials have been patting themselves on the back and pointing out that grain surpluses are down substantially. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman told the annual meeting of the National Grange, for example, that "the word 'surplus' is no longer a synonym for wheat and feed grains." He added that supplies have been brought down to "near the safe reserve level."

We suppose it is natural that the political farm managers should want to take credit for this, though how much credit they deserve is questionable. The image they seek to portray of themselves as wise planners of sound programs doesn't stack up in light of the fact that while grain surpluses have been declining, surpluses of cotton and tobacco, along with costs of farm programs, are soaring to new record highs.

The government still has a stockpile of $6.2 billion worth of wheat, feed grains, cotton and an assortment of other commodities. This amount compares with a total of $7 billion a year ago, which was about the size of the stockpile in 1961 when the Kennedy Administration took over.

It is true that Commodity Credit Corp. stocks totaled as high as $9 billion in the latter years of the Eisenhower

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman only wants credit for the reduced surpluses, not the increased costs.

Administration. But annual CCC costs to taxpayers now are running at about $5.25 billion a year ($2 billion a year higher than in the late 1950s), mainly because of substantially bigger direct subsidies to farmers and much higher Food for Peace costs.

The Food for Peace program is largely responsible for lowering CCC wheat stocks from a high of nearly 1.5 billion bushels in 1961 to the present 800 million bushels. Most of the reduction was in wheat sold abroad for nonconvertible foreign currencies, which is virtually giving it away.

Mr. Freeman thinks a reserve of 600 million bushels is necessary in case of emergency, although before the surplus build-up began our wheat reserves were as low as 150 million bushels.

Feed grain stocks have dropped from about 84 million tons in 1961 to the present 55 million tons. Aside from some increase in livestock feeding, most of this grain was exported to commercial dollar markets in western Europe and Japan, reflecting economic resurgence in those countries rather than prudent planning in Washington.

Despite expenditures of well over $5 billion to hold down feed grain production, this year's corn crop was a record whopper and may well boost feed grain stocks back up to 60 million or perhaps even 65 million tons by next September.

Under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations the cotton surplus has soared from about 7.2 million bales in 1961 to a little more than 14 million bales, valued at $1.7 billion at present.

By next August it is expected to reach a record 16.2 million bales—more than a full year's supply. A similar build-up has occurred in tobacco, in which $850 million worth of stocks constitute a two years' supply.

If the Administration wants to take credit for the decline in grain surpluses, it also must take the blame for the booming cotton and tobacco surpluses, as well as for the substantially increased costs of farm programs.

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GOOD OLD DAYS—"Now and then we have a sort of nostalgic longing for the good old days when only the wolf was at the door, instead of a bunch of tax collectors."—From the Lynden (Wash.) *Tribune*

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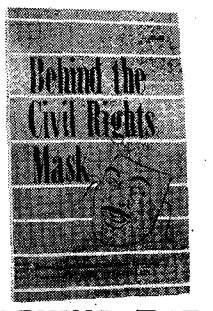

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Who Is the Fascist?

By PROF. HANS SENNHOLZ, *Chairman*
Economics Department, Grove City (Pa.) College

Semantic confusion and odious categorization are probably the most effective weapons in the hands of social planners. It cannot be denied that, using them, they have succeeded strikingly in confusing the minds of the people on major issues of political and economic life.

The liberals and Socialists have completely usurped the traditional concepts of freedom, liberalism, democracy, etc., attaching to them entirely new meanings and connotations which often convey the very antithesis of the original concept. Today we all still speak the same language, employ identical political and economic words, and yet we are worlds apart in our systems of thought and deliberation.

In the statists' nomenclature the concept of "freedom," for instance, pertains to the unlimited scope of government functions and powers—the complete absence of restraint on the will of our administrators. Sometimes, it is true, they do refer to the individual in connection with his freedom from want, unemployment, etc. But these "freedoms" constitute assurance of government welfare—not individual liberty but a denial of it.

In libertarian diction, which adheres to that of our forebears and Founding Fathers, freedom signifies the individual's right to run his own life and be master of his own fate without interference by an omnipotent state. Above all, it is the freedom of human action in a market economy unhampered by a host of government inspectors and regulators.

Or take the concept of "liberalism." Prevailing parlance employs this word as a synonym for radical principles of interventionism which cannot fail to bring about socialism. On the other hand, libertarians conceived liberalism to convey their own principles of individual liberty until the statists successfully usurped this concept and made them take refuge in the new word of "libertarianism."

Those are only two examples of how the social planners have changed the traditional meaning of words.

Another tactic is denunciation by name calling. Whether there is a logical connection or not, the liberal often tries to debunk or at least throw suspicion on a conservative statement by merely categorizing it.

Short of an answer he may meet your analysis with a proclamation like this: "Oh, I know what this is. You are advocating materialism." Or he may label you a disciple of John Locke, Adam Smith, the Manchester School, or call you an idealist, utilitarian, positivist, atheist, etc. The objective is always the same: In order to escape an answer he acts as if the system referred to is antiquated and has been entirely refuted before, or aims to smear you through odious categorization.

At one time or another most conservatives and libertarians have been called "Fascists." In order to ascertain who are really the Fascists in our midst we should like to let the late Benito Mussolini speak about the meaning of fascism and its aspirations and accomplishments. After all, who could be more qualified than its Italian founder and first champion?

In his *Autobiography* (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Row, E.C. 4, The Mayflower Press, Plymouth, England)* Mussolini explains himself in the following words:

"I ask nothing for myself, nor for mine: no material goods, no honors, no testimonials, no resolutions of approval which presume to consecrate me to history. My objective is simple: I want to make Italy great, respected and feared; I want to render my nation worthy of her noble and ancient traditions. I want to accelerate her evolution towards the highest forms of national cooperation; I want to make a greater prosperity always possible for the whole people.

"I want to create a political organization to express, to guarantee and to safeguard our development. I am tireless in my wish to see newly born and newly reborn Italians. With all my strength,

Benito Mussolini, the Italian founder and first champion of fascism.

with all my energies, without pause, without interruptions I want to bring to them their fullest opportunities. I do not lose sight of the experience of other peoples, but I build with elements of our own and in harmony with our own possibilities, with our traditions, and with the energy of the Italian people. I have made a profound study of the interests, the aspirations and the tendencies of our masses. I push on toward better forces of life and progress." (pp. 280-281)

Benito Mussolini was proud of the Fascist society. In his own words: "I think that Italy is advanced beyond all the European nations: in fact, it has ratified the laws for the eight-hour day, for obligatory insurance, for regulation of the work of women and children, for assistance and benefit for after-work diversion and adult education, and finally for obligatory insurance against tuberculosis. All this shows how, in every detail in the world of labor, I stand by Italian working classes. All that was possible to do without doing an injury to the principle of solidity in our economy I have set out to do, from the minimum wage to continuity of employment; from the insurance against accidents to the indemnity against illness; from income for old age to the proper regulation of military service.

"There is little which social welfare studies have appraised as practical to national economy or as wise for social happiness which has not already been advanced by me. I want to give to every man and woman so generous an opportunity that work will be done, not as a pain, but as a joy of life. . . . But beyond the state's labors is fascism, harmonizer and dominator of the Italian life, standing as the inspiration." (pp. 254, 255)

Mussolini spared no effort or expense to promote Italian education and culture. Recreation and sports were also developed at government expense. A decree of May 1, 1925, established recreation as a government project with the express aim "the healthy and profitable occupation of the worker's leisure hours, through institutions for developing the worker's physical, intellectual and moral capacity." This project (*Dopolavoro*) provided inexpensive vacations and excursions; courses in adult education and public library facilities; lectures and theatrical performances.

In the words of the dictator: "One of the reforms which I have promoted, following it closely in all its successive developments, is the reorganization of schools. . . . The gravity and importance of school problems cannot escape the attention of any modern statesman mindful of the destiny of his people.

"The school must be considered in all its complete expression; public schools, intermediate schools, university institutions, all exercise a profound influence on the trend, moral and economic, of the life of any nation. From the beginning this has always been on my mind. Perhaps my early experience as a schoolteacher added to an inescapable interest in youth and its development." (p. 259) "To prove the importance that educational revival has, in my mind, I myself gave a lecture at the University of Perugia. It has been pronounced by scholars as an enlargement of the world's concept of its duty to youth." (p. 264)

"Finally, to pay a tribute to culture and to higher culture and to everyone that, in the field of science, art and letters, has kept high the name of Italy, I have created an Italian Academy." (p. 265)

Mussolini was also proud of his many achievements in the field of public works. "The policy of public works in Italy," he asserted, "had always had an electoral character; works to be done were decided here and there, not according to an organic plan and to any plain group of voters. I stopped this legalized favoritism. I instituted bureaus of public works, entrusting them to persons in whom I have complete confidence, who obey only the central powers of the state, and are immune from pressure by local interests.

"In this way I was able to better sensibly the conditions of the roads of the south; I mapped out a program for aqueducts, railroads and ports. All that is just, finds in the Italian bureaucracy an immediate comprehension. All the offices of governmental character have received a new impulse and new prestige. The great public utilities of the state, railroads, mail, telegraph, telephone, the monopolies, function again." (p. 268)

"Today the state is not an abstract and agnostic entity; the government is present everywhere, every day. Who lives in the ambit of the state, or outside the state, lives and feels in every way the majesty of law. It is not a thing of small account that all public utilities are conducted with an efficiency which I might call American, and that the Italian bureaucracy, proverbially slow, has become eager and agile." (p. 269)

*Cf. also S. William Halperin, Mussolini and Italian Fascism, *D. Van Nostrand, 1964; Laura Fermi,* Mussolini, *The University of Chicago Press, 1961; Gamaliel Bradford,* The Quick and the Dead, *Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931; Christopher Hibbert,* Il Duce, *Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1962.*

Graft and Corruption Mark Boston Anti-Poverty Program

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

More than $5.5 million in federal funds earmarked for Boston's anti-poverty program have been held up pending an investigation into charges of graft and corruption.

A spokesman for anti-poverty chieftain R. Sargent Shriver concedes that "recent allegations of wrongdoing and mismanagement" in connection with Boston's Neighborhood Youth Corps program have made the action necessary.

The decision to freeze the funds followed the Boston *Traveler's* allegations of new thefts by anti-poverty workers. Prize-winning reporter Alice Burke writes that one anti-poverty supervisor masterminded a recent $1,600 payroll theft from the Youth Corps.

Miss Burke had earlier charged that a young corpsman, acting with an anti-poverty counselor, was involved in a misuse of $1,300 in federal funds.

Miss Burke alleges that there is considerable evidence that officials of Boston's Youth Corps program have engaged in flagrant political activities. She says that Edward DeSimone, a former temporary clerk in the Boston Election Department, was named a $6,500-a-year assistant in the Youth Corps purchasing office earlier this year.

There, Miss Burke says, he spent part of each working day checking to make sure that corps suppliers purchased tickets to a recent Democratic dinner that raised more than $250,000 for Boston Mayor John Collins' campaign treasury.

In addition, says Miss Burke, DeSimone reported daily to Corps Deputy Director Eric Hanson on the number of dinner tickets sold to firms that do business with the corps and the city.

Mayor Collins, who plans to run for the U.S. Senate next fall, brushed aside all questions about the role of corps officials in his campaign. "I have no knowledge of that whatsoever," he said.

Anti-poverty officials dispatched a Washington investigator to Boston in September, following an audit of the city's books. The investigator, Sidney Snyderman, sought to learn why 130 youngsters, ineligible from a standpoint of need, had been hired. He was told by the official in charge of recruitment:

"I was working in the interests of City Hall."

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Capital Capsule: Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) reports the Job Corps has purchased four more first-run movies for release at drop-out centers during the Christmas season. One involves a card shark, the second a series of London murders, the third an honest man turned bandit, and the fourth a broken marriage. "Peace on earth, good will toward men," says the Indiana lawmaker . . . .

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Experience Changes Congressmen's Views

Two Liberals Find Crossing 'Bridges' Into Red Satellites Is Not So Easy

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Whenever the U.S. State Department is criticized these days for its policy of "building bridges" to the Communist countries, the example of Indonesia is trotted out in its defense. For years we helped the Indonesians despite the revilements that we suffered from the poisonous Sukarno. Then, just as Sukarno was supposedly delivering his sprawling tropical archipelago into the hands of Red China, the Indonesian Army turned on the local Communists and ripped them to shreds. "See," said the State Department in effect, "we were patient in the face of insults, and the patience paid off."

It's hard to argue against a successful example. But the point that is overlooked when our policy toward Indonesia is used to justify "bridge building" to Rumania or Hungary is that Indonesia had never gone truly Communist or totalitarian. Despite the hold of Sukarno on his countrymen, there were always several separate power centers in Indonesia. The Communist party was not the only political organization. And the Army kept some autonomy. We helped the Army by providing training for its officers, and our friendship paid off when the Communists struck against the army for total power and were pulverized for their pains.

The East European countries, by contrast to Indonesia, do not have multiple power centers. You deal with the official Marxist governments, or else.

Two U.S. congressmen, Reps. Seymour Halpern, a Republican from New York, and Edward J. Patten, a Democrat from New Jersey, have just been handed the treatment in their efforts to walk across some newly erected State Department bridges to the European captive nations. Thinking to investigate the condition of Hungarians living in the Transylvania region of Rumania, the two congressmen applied for visas. The Rumanians issued one for Patten, but turned Halpern down.

Neither congressman succeeded in getting a visa for Hungary. When they applied at the Austro-Hungarian border, they were repulsed a second time on the flimsy excuse of "too much traffic." Eventually Congressman Patten did get into Rumania by way of Yugoslavia, and he even managed to slip into Hungary through an oversight. But Seymour Halpern never did make it. He had made too many derogatory remarks about Rumania in the Congress.

What Patten saw in both Rumania and Hungary was hair-raising to a fellow who had been inclined to go along with the bridge-building theories of Secretary of State Dean Rusk. A gusty trencherman who enjoys nothing so much as planting his legs firmly under a loaded table, Patten did well to get a couple of pallid frankfurters for a meal. He saw geese everywhere, but, as he put it, "I couldn't get a duck dinner." A million geese, he was told, were shipped every year to Russia. In the fields he saw piles of sugar beets wasting under wind and rain, and stacks of hay left to rot. The only people doing any work on the farms seemed to be old women. By contrast with the Hungarians and Rumanians, Patten says, the Negroes of America are swimming in affluence. "You can get an abortion quicker in Hungary than a hamburger," he said in final commentary on the food.

Rep. Seymour Halpern (R.-N. Y.) couldn't even get a visa from the Communists to visit Hungary or Rumania.

The fact that walking across a bridge into Rumania and Hungary is so difficult has shaken Patten a bit in his previous support of State Department policy. "Originally," he says, "I would have gone along with Rumania's request for help, to build a nuclear power plant and also to expand economic relations. Today I will fight any suggestions fiercely until there is some progress in regard to the human and civil rights of these people. I will also actively fight for hearings on these problems in the Foreign Affairs Committee and I have hope that such hearings will also be heard."

Congressman Halpern is even more emphatic. "The treatment I received," he says, "was abhorrent, repugnant and inexcusable. It bears out only too realistically everything we've been saying of human freedoms by the Communist states." His remedy? "I don't want to put strings on deals with the Communists," he says. "But the State Department should squawk like hell whenever there is an issue of human freedom. We should use assistance as a basis for protest on every occasion."

Strings or no strings, it is good to see a liberal Republican congressman and a Democrat going over to the theory that the traffic over bridges should move both ways, and without discrimination in tolls.

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Why Is the NCC Tax-Exempt?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The National Council of Churches is, as everyone probably knows by now, a tax-exempt organization. That is to say, when someone gives the NCC money, a like amount can be deducted when the donor computes his income tax in April.

To qualify for such tax exemption, the NCC has to fall in the category of what the Internal Revenue Service calls a charitable, educational, or religious organization. To retain tax exemption, such an organization must see to it that no substantial part of its activities is of a political or propagandistic nature.

Some may recall that last year the revenue people announced in a huff that they were going to crack down on so-called "right-wing" groups that took clearly identifiable political positions while being tax-exempt.

Strangely, the National Council of Churches continues to be involved in all sorts of overt political activity: It's spokesmen lobby for civil rights legislation, call for economic boycotts and urge the repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. This week, the policy-making body of the NCC—the General Board—got together in Madison, Wis., and the results were, once more, distinctly political in character. The board voted 93-10 in favor of a Viet Nam policy statement that criticized U.S. presence in Southeast Asia.

The resolution adopted the language of the highly vocal radical left: It termed the American presence a "unilateral" policy. The NCC's General Board apparently takes no cognizance of the South Vietnamese who are fighting to save their country from the Communist invaders. Other portions of the NCC's Viet Nam policy statement likewise followed the leftist drift.

The NCC's debate on Viet Nam reportedly took three hours—so long, in fact, that the board had to postpone until February consideration of resolutions calling for the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and new policy statements on American action in Latin America. These other resolutions, when they do emanate from the inner sanctum of the NCC, assuredly will echo the standard propaganda line of the leftist establishment.

Clergymen—NCC clergymen, indeed—certainly should comment on general questions of war and peace, for such issues are within the purview of religious activity. Moral issues *are* at stake in Viet Nam: The morality of a nation's fight for self-determination, the immorality of the Communists' attempt to impose their will on a weaker neighbor. There is too little of that kind of comment issuing from the councils of the NCC, however.

Instead, there are calls for a cessation of bombing raids, negotiations with the enemy, and a phase-out of American troops—not Viet Cong troops—from the area. Such policies are purely political; they are remote from the moral questions in the Asian conflict.

The NCC is, by its actions, a politically oriented organization. It should be so recognized by the government that it so often tries to influence. The Internal Revenue Service might initiate some soul-searching introspection by an investigation of some of the NCC's forays into domestic and foreign policy. The NCC's political statements long have taxed the patience of many Americans. It is high time the government started taxing the National Council of Churches.

Dead God or Decayed Intellect?

By RUSSELL KIRK

With an air of immense authority, a clique of youngish Protestant "theologians" has been proclaiming, in recent months, that no authority exists. God is dead, they declare, and we must live by mere humanitarianism, governed by the preferences of the Secular City.

Yet God, presumably, is not much disturbed at such antics, which attract attention at least once in every age. In the middle of the 18th Century, it appeared to many advanced thinkers that Christianity was dying. But as Samuel Wesley said to his sons, "Be steady. The Christian faith will surely revive in this kingdom. You shall see it though I shall not."

One of the more eminent "God is dead" theological faddists, Dr. Thomas J. J. Altizer, of Emory University, declares that it is primitive to think of God as intervening in human history; we cannot believe in a transcendent Father. This denial Dr. Altizer seems to justify by a conviction that somehow "science" has disproved God's existence.

Physical and natural sciences, however, cannot of themselves either prove or disprove the works of God; the finite cannot measure the infinite. No one makes this point better than does a most eminent American man of science, Dr. William G. Pollard, in his book *Chance and Providence: God's Action in a World Governed by Scientific Thought*.

Dr. Pollard is executive director of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies; also he is an Episcopalian priest. Divine Providence, he writes, far from being discredited by science, has become less difficult to apprehend, now that we venture into the modern mysteries of quantum mechanics.

To the informed Christian, Dr. Pollard says, history is not a mere chronicle of meaningless chance. "He knows that the service of his Lord does not involve any denial or curtailment of his freedom, but rather its release and fulfillment. Providence does not bind you and lead you about on its apron strings. Rather it comes forth to meet you, as you to it.

"The Lordship of Christ in history is not a detached principle of explanation like the law of gravity, but a triumphant and glorious hope. Life in a world which is consciously apprehended as the expression of the will of its Creator is not a sequence of baleful incidents thwarting human purposes, but a meaningful and joyous adventure."

Just so. Dr. Thomas Altizer, it seems to this commentator, knows next to nothing of modern science, but presumes to deny the experience of mankind with God on confused "scientistic" grounds. True, Dr. Altizer and the other new moralists would have us still pay some attention to Jesus as a moral teacher. But if Christ was not God, His pronouncements do not make sense, and His claim to authority was simply outrageous. One might as well accept the latest utterances of Dr. Altizer or the Bishop of Southwark as Holy Writ.

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